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ABSTRACT

Paper I: Using information from the national 1973 Quality of Employment Survey, the following assertions are examined relative to white employees: (1) Employees with more years of schooling and experience can obtain more agreeable and better-paying jobs and (2) among workers with equal schooling and experience, those with more agreeable jobs must accept less pay. It was concluded that school and work experience both pay off in more dignified and meaningful work and that finding evidence of wage differentials which compensate for nonpecuniary benefits is very difficult. Paper II: A survey of unionized municipal workers was done to determine whether the new generation of educated workers would make new kinds of job demands. A questionnaire was mailed to 164 accountants, 214 college office assistants, and 427 social service supervisors and administered to 90 nurse's aides through interviews. It was found that the desire for changes in the job seems related to patterns of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with particular job aspects rather than to age or education. Paper III: Utilizing information from the same survey as Paper II, an analysis of responses suggests that union leaders do not initiate demands for job enrichment because they correctly perceive their members' relative unwillingness to forego pay increases in order to get more opportunity for job involvement. (EM)

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Wages and other Rewards
What people want or get from their jobs and how education makes a difference (or does it)

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Three Papers by
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When you take a job, do you have to take off the amount of money earned with other benefits - not the usual fringes but things like being creative or escaping a lot of repetitious tasks? Will younger more educated employees make demands on employers to change how work is done? Can management and labor in public service agencies work together to provide changes to make the employees' efforts more productive?

These and other questions were asked by a research effort supported by the National Institute of Education. The results, reported in three papers, draw on both a national survey and a specially designed survey of unionized muncipal employees. Taken together the three papers offer insight into how employees feel about the financial (pecuniary) and other (non-pecuniary) pay they received for their labor.

I. "Education, Wages and Non-pecuniary Qualities of Work: Some Empirical Findings"

Using information from the 1973 Quality of Employment Survey, a nationally representative sample survey, this paper examines two assertions[1]. First, employees with more years of schooling and experience, other things equal, can obtain jobs that are both more agreeable and better paid than jobs available to employees with less schooling and experience. This notion, which has become part of the conventional wisdom about the relationship between education and work, is confirmed by this survey, but school and experience don't have the same impact.

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* This summary is prepared by Robert W. Stump, NIE Senior Associate, Education and Work Group, National Institute of Education based on final reports to NE-G-00-3-0213, March 1977.

1 Because of limited number of working women and non-white in the survey, these analyses are limited to non-self-employed white males age 16 or over who were wroking at least 30 hours or more a week on jobs where they had worked at least three months.

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More years of schooling and more years of work experience were associated not only with higher wages but also with reported freedom and job security, opportunity to use one's skills, and the expressed belief that work provides information about oneself and the world. Experience, but not schooling, is also associated with more reported feelings of friendship and participation with other people at work; more expressed satisfaction with the hours, pace of work, and physical surroundings; and more reported satisfaction with the pay and the job "all in all." Schooling, but not experience, is positively associated with the likelihood that workers will say their jobs provide scope for autonomous and creative responses to novel tasks.

This pattern is compatible with a theory that investments in school and work experience both pay off in more dignified and meaningful work, while experience enhances social satisfaction on the job and schooling helps men get more mentally stimulating work. These intangible, nonpecuniary benefits all accrue in addition to higher pay.

The second assertion tested in this paper is that among workers with equal schooling and years of experience , those with more agreeable jobs must, with other things equal, accept less pay. Given the confirmation of the first notion-that groups with different schooling and experience do not compete with each other for jobs - it is important to ask what tradeoffs are made within the internal labor markets where workers do compete for the rewards from work.

Dr. Stern's analysis found that white males as a group, and within all but one educational stratum (college graduates with no-past graduate education) who describe their jobs as more repetitious receive significantly less pay. Also, for men with more than high school education there appears to be a tradeoff between higher pay and making friends on the job.

Trying to explain this anomalous relationship between pay levels and repititiousness the author suggests that within internal labor markets persons who are promoted more rapidly receive the benefits of both higher pay and less repitious task.

Thus, among men with the same level of education, years of experience, and apparent intelligence, those who have been promoted at a faster rate - for whatever reason - receive higher wages, report less repetition in their work, have had less opportunity to make friends on the job, and have more say about what happens on the job.

Except for making friends on the job, the non-pecuniary benefits have the same (positive) relationship to wages within groups of men with equal schooling and experience as between groups with different levels of schooling and experience. The full range of benefits going to men with more schooling and experience also go to those who are more frequently promoted over their peers with equal schooling and experience, except for not having the opportunity to make friends on the job.

In conclusion, Dr. Stern notes that finding evidence of wage differentials which compensate for intangible non-pecuniary benefits is very difficult. The relationship of wages to non-pecuniary benefits is more plausibly explained by the hierarchical structure of internal labor markets than by a model of competitive auction. The practical implication is that employers have no significant monetary incentive to improve the non-financial characteristics of work.

II. Education, Age, and Demands for Improving the Quality of Working Life.

More American workers have high school and college education than ever before. College graduates, especially, are taking jobs which traditionally have gone to less educated workers. If they, or any worker, are in a job which does not recognize or use their skills and abilities, how will they react? Many writers in the early 70's expected the new generation of highly educated workers to make new demands for greater participation in decision-making, more flexible hours and assignments, etc. They were also expected to make demands for changes that would be different from their less educated co-workers.

This second paper looks closely at these predictions through a survey of unionized municipal workers in four occupational groups- Accountants, College office Assistants (secretaries in a University) Nurse's Aides and Social Service Supervisors. The survey questionnaire allowed the respondents to indicate their satisfaction with various aspects of the job and how much they would like to have changes in their job such as participation in a labor-management committee, having time to acquire job-related skills and information, having a chance to demonstrate new ideas of their own, or working in an autonomous team. Younger and more educated workers were expected to express more desire for these changes, compared to their desire for more time off or more flexible hours.

Most of the workers surveyed wanted all of these changes to some degree, the patterns of desire for different individuals being related to the sources of their dissatisfaction. There was no evidence to support an assertion that the pattern of desire for change was related to either educational attainment of the workers. The inescapable conclusion from this survey seems to be that education is not one of the variables that affect preferences for changes on the job in this sample.

Having found that the desire for changes on the job are not related to personal characteristics of employees, Dr. Stern's analysis of the actual preferences for changes seems to show these are related to patterns of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with particular aspects of their job. He summarizes the preferences for each of the 9 proposed changes this way:

1. Desire for a labor-management committee is stronger among Accountants who feel dissatisfied with the amount of impact they have, among College Office Assistants who dislike the lack of promotional opportunity (and perhaps see this as a substitute), and among Nurse's Aides who say they are satisfied with their opportunity to decide how they do the work (perhaps an expression of identification with the organization).

2. The idea of having some time to acquire job-related skills and information was more attractive to College Office Assistants who were dissatisfied with their opportunities for meeting friends, and to Social Service Supervisors who did not like their lack of opportunity to decide how they did their work. Evidently some of the former group read this proposal as a social opportunity (seminars and workshops) while the latter group viewed it as possibly enhancing their autonomy.

3. A flexible work day appealed generally (in the pooled sample) to respondents who were satisfied with their fringe benefits and job security but dissatisfied with their time off, promotional chances, and opportunities to learn new skills and to decide how to do their work -- in short, to workers who are comfortable but restless and bored.

4. Reimbursement for general educational expense commends itself most favorably to Accountant who feel they are doing professional accounting work but not getting enough recognition for it (and possibly have an interest in outside consulting); also to College Office Assistants who feel their work does make use of their skills but lacks variety. The idea also appeals to College Office Assistants and Nurse's

aides who express dissatisfaction with the supervisor they get -- this unexpected correlation seems to be picking up a desire to get even with some supervisors who flaunt their educational credentials.

5. Stated desire for opportunities to demonstrate new ideas does not seem to correlate meaningfully with anything... anything.

6. Among the combined sample of all respondents, desire for a two-hour reduction in the work week is strongest for those who feel dissatisfied with their time off now and with their lack of opportunity to learn new skills, but satisfied with job security. College Office Assistants who feel dissatisfied with their lack of opportunity to decide how they do their work, and Accountants dissatisfied with lack of opportunity to get the facts they need, also want more time off -- but so do Accountsnts who say they are already satisfied with time off. With the exception of this last correlation, the general pattern makes sense.

7. Flexible weekly hours have most appeal in the combined sample for workers dissatisfied with time off; for Accountants dissatisfied with lack of variety; College Office Assistants who are satisfied that their work has an impact but dissatisfied with time off and with lack of opportunity to decide how they do their work (similar to the pattern for flexible daily hours); and Nurse's Aides who are most satisfied with opportunity to learn new skills now. Aside from this last, these associations all seem reasonable.

8. Desire for autonomous work teams sometimes reflects satisfaction with the organization, and sometimes dissatisfaction with the way work is organized. Accountants satisfied with fringe benefits and college Office Assistants satisfied with their opportunity to learn new skills on the job, as well as Nurse's Aides who are satisfied with promotional chances and opportunity to use the skills they have, all express more interest in working in small teams, as do employees in the pooled sample who like their chances for promotion. But Social Service Superior who feel they are

not getting the facts and information they need -- and Nurse's Aides who are dissatisfied with their present opportunities to make friends, have an impact, or use their time as they see fit -- all have a positive interest in teams, too.

9. A year's leave of absence with half pay after every ten years, generally the most popular proposal, appeals most to College Office Assistants who feel they are using the skills they have, to Nurse's Aides who are getting the facts they need, Social Service Supervisors who are making enough friends on the job but who want more time off, and respondents in general who want more time off.

Desire for particular changes on the job therefore should not necessarily be expected from the younger and better educated workers, simply because they are younger and better educated, if the results of this survey have validity beyond these workers (an extension for which the present study offers no evidence, only questions to be pursued).

The interest in change seems more closely related to what they like and dislike about their current jobs than their pre-employment backgrounds. This means that efforts to bring about changes in the workplace should not presume a high degree of consensus among workers of the same age or educational attainment.

III. Why Unions do not Bargain for Job Enrichment: Some New Evidence

In the late 1960's and early 1970's job enrichment has been proposed by many academics, intellectuals, management consultants and managers, but not by labor unions. In 1970-71, Albert Blum and his colleagues examined contracts from 108 different unions looking for "any clause referring directly to job enrichment or other motivational programs, or indeed, to any contractual attempt to make work more diversified and interesting ..." They concluded that formal acceptance of motivational concepts or programs in collective bargaining has been almost non-existent. Michael Fein claimed in 1974 that the studies conducted in recent years "to prove that workers really want job enrichment" have <u>all</u> been initiated by management, never by unions.

"Job enrichment" here refers to a variety of changes in the work situation, such as more flexible hours, special educational leaves, participation in committees to improve the organization of work, or having a chance to try out new ideas.

The information in this paper come from the same survey of municipal employees as the second paper. The key finding, from a survey of members of one particular union, is this: Even when individuals say they would like some particular form of increased involvement on the job equally well as some form of purely personal benefit such as additional time off, they are likely to be willing to forego bigger pay increases for the personal benefit than for the increased involvement on the job. If further research finds this same pattern of preference in the work force at large, it would help explain why unions do not seek job enrichment through collective bargaining, where demands can be won only at a price. The observed pattern also implies that employees will be more enthusiastic about job enrichment if they can somehow share in the benefit of any productivity gains.

In the first part of the survey, the employees were asked to indicate (on a four-point scale) how much they would like or dislike specific proposals for changing their job. On the whole, the most popular proposals were those that would create more opportunities for learning both on the job and off. Among both Accountants and Social Supervisors, there were three ideas to which the number responding more favorably than to an extra 2 hours off each week exceeded the number responding less favorably. These were: reimbursement for the cost of education or counseling whether job-related or not; a half-pay sabbatical after every 10 years; and being allowed to spend 2 hours a week during work time acquiring job-related skills and information. Among Nurse's Aides there were also three changes which attracted more positive than negatice votes relative to an extra 2 hours off a week. One was payment for the cost of education, training or counseling, whether job-related or not. The other two were: having 10 or 15 minutes at the beginning and end of each shift for briefings on the status of patients; and having five days with pay every year for thorough orientation and training. Among the College Office Assistants, only the half-pay sabbatical idea was rated favorably more often than unfavorably relative to a shorter work week.

Despite the fact that more respondents would prefer extra time off to more involvement in the job through committees, teams, or demonstrating new ideas, those who would prefer more involvement to more time off represented a considerable minority. Usually more than one out of five respondents in each group, and never fewer than one out of ten, said they would like to be on a committee to discuss procedures, or to work in a more autonomous team, or to have a chance to demonstrate new ideas of their own -- more than they would like a 2 hour reduction in the work week.

Apart from the ratings of these particular proposals for increased involvement, many respondents expressed a general desire to help get the work done more efficiently and effectively. This sample of spontaneous comments testified that some people in these public agencies had ideas for making the organization more effective, and they wanted their ideas to be heard and used. When combined with the findings that a majority or respondents would prefer more opportunities for learning instead of a 2 hour reduction in work-week, and a considerable minority would even reject the extra 2 hours off in favor of opportunities for greater participation, these statements confirm that there is considerable expressed demand here for more involvement in the job.

Subsequent questions in the survey attempted to identify whether and how much the employees would be willing to "trade-off" increases in pay for some of these changes in the job. For those who responded to the question, the pattern was clear. If an employee expressed the same degree of liking (in the four-point scale) for two different changes (e.g. educational leave and working on a team to decide how to do the work better) then he or she would usually be willing to "trade-off" greater amounts of money for those changes that were of direct personal benefit.

Many of the one third of the respondents who did not answer this series of questions offered candid explanations why. They simply believed that they should not be asked to forgo an increase in pay in order to obtain changes that did not cost anything (to the employer) and might even help get the work done better.

The explanation, therefore, of why unions do not initiate demands (or might not be inclined to) is neither that union leaders lack imagination, nor that they fear more involvement in the job would undermine their member's loyalty to the union (as some have implied). Rather, the union leaders correctly perceive their

members' relative unwillingngess to forgo pay increases in order to get more opportunity for involvement in the job. If winning such opportunities through collective bargaining requires concessions in terms of pay, and if union members in the work force at large have attitudes similar to the sample in this survey, then accurate representation of members' preference would, in general, preclude bargaining for job enrichment.

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EDUCATION, WAGES, AND NONPECUNIARY QUALITIES OF WORK: SOME EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

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September, 1976

EDUCATION, WAGES, AND NONPECUNIARY QUALITIES OF WORK: SOME EMPIRICAL FINDINGS*

Empirical efforts by neoclassical economists to explain the distribution of earnings have generally ignored the intangible, nonpecuniary characteristics of different jobs. "The agreeableness or disagreeableness of the employments themselves" was first on Adam Smith's famous list of five factors which, in a competitive economy, would tend to compensate for differences in average earnings and thereby equalize "the whole of the advantages and disadvantages" of different occupations.[1] But the difficulty of measuring "agreeableness" in any objective way has led neoclassical researchers to concentrate almost exclusively on Smith's second factor: "the easiness and cheapness, or the difficulty and expense of learning the business."[2] While the association between earnings and training costs, both in school and on the job, has been convincingly demonstrated by proponents of the human capital theory, schooling and experience alone typically account for only about one-third of the variance in individual earnings.[3] Some of the unexplained variance

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[1] Smith, pp. 99-100.

[2] Ibid., p. 101.

[3] Mincer, p. 92.

is apparently associated with occupational differences,[4] but this only raises the question of what underlying, nonpecuniary characteristics make some occupations on average more attractive than others. The research reported in this paper began as an attempt to improve the explanatory power of the human capital model by including indicators of more "agreeable" employment as part of the payoff from investment in training.

The hypothesis to be tested has two parts. (1) A group of employees with more years of schooling and experience, other things equal, can obtain jobs that are both more agreeable and better paid than the jobs available to employees with less schooling and experience. (2) But within a group with equal schooling and experience, those individuals who have more agreeable jobs must, with other things equal, accept less pay. The first part of the hypothesis asserts that schooling and experience separate workers into "noncompeting groups"; a notion that has become part of conventional, though untested, economic wisdom.[5] This part of the hypothesis does find confirmation in the data. However, the second part -- which asserts that wages compensate for nonpecuniary benefits within a competing group -- is not supported by the data. These findings have unfortunate implications for the evolution of work, which will be addressed in the concluding section.

Reported Nonpecuniary Benefits, in Addition to Wages, are Associated with Schooling and Experience

Data from a national sample were collected as part of the 1973 Quality of Employment Survey.[6] The total sample included 1496 individuals

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[4] Generally, see Eckaus. For teachers, see Freeman, pp. 87-92; and Taubman and Wales, p. 86.

[5] See Reynolds, p. 278.

[6] Quinn and others.

at least 16 years old, who worked no less than 20 hours a week on average in 1972. Analysis here is limited to white males, not self-employed, who worked at least 30 hours a week on average, and who had been working for their present employers no less than three months.[7]

Before considering the nonpecuniary dimensions measured by the survey, it is instructive to look at monetary earnings as a basis for comparison. Average hourly wage[8] was regressed on: a dummy variable indicating residence outside a metropolitan area; a rating by the interviewer (on a five-point scale) of the respondent's apparent intelligence; the number of years worked for pay since age 16; and a set of six dummy variables denoting level of educational attainment (completed grade school, some high school, completed high school, some college, completed college, and more than college, with all six dummies equal to zero for respondents who did not finish grade school). Residence outside a metropolitan area, apparent intelligence, and years worked were all significantly associated with wages, in the expected direction. The six education dummies as a group accounted for a statistically significant amount of the variance in wages, but not every one of the six was significant by itself. Furthermore, the pattern of coefficients on the education dummies showed two departures from the expected monotonic order: men with some college education

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[7]The data used here were made available on tape by the ISR Social Science Archive. Neither the original collectors of the data nor the Archive bears any responsibility for the analyses or interpretation presented here.

[8]Hourly Wage = $\frac{\text{earnings from primary job before taxes and deductions}}{50 \times \text{reported average hours worked per week on this job}}$.

received no higher wages than those who had completed high school only, and employees with schooling beyond college were paid less than those who had completed college only, other things equal.[9] Despite these departures from strict monotonicity, the overall association between education and wages is significant and positive.

Table 1 shows the results of a similar analysis of 35 other job characteristics measured in the survey. Most of these are intangible, nonpecuniary attributes of a job. They are all subjective ratings by the employee himself, on a four-point scale where the possible responses were: "a lot" (or "very true", depending on the particular question), "somewhat", "a little", or "not at all". These ratings form a scale which is ordinal but not necessarily interval. Each of the 35 dependent variables was therefore treated as a sequence of binary choices. The first choice was whether to answer "a lot" or "somewhat", as opposed to "a little" or "not at all" -- that is, generally positive or negative. For those employees who chose one of the two more positive responses, the next step was to analyze the choice between "a lot" and "somewhat"; and for employees who chose one of the two negative responses, the next step was to analyze the choice between "a little" and "not at all".

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[9] Including multiplicative interactions between years worked and the six education dummies made an additional significant increase in the explained variance of wages, but did not change the basic pattern, except to reveal that college graduates receive a higher return from experience than do less educated groups. This and the other findings are consistent with Mincer (1974) and Taubman and Wales (1974).

The probability of choosing the more positive response at either step was given by:

$$P = 1 / \left[1 + \exp\left(-\alpha-\beta_1 x_1-\beta_2 x_2-\beta_3 x_3-\sum_{i=1}^{6} \gamma_i D_i \right)\right];$$

where x_1 = dummy variable representing residence outside metropolitan area,

x_2 = apparent intelligence,

x_3 = years worked for pay since age 16,

D_i = dummy variable representing education level i.

The parameters were estimated by maximum-likelihood,[10] and statistical significance of sets of independent variables was assessed by likelihood-ratio tests.[11] The summary of results in Table 1 shows whether years worked and/or level of education was significantly associated with a given job characteristic at one or more of the three junctures on the four-point scale.

Schooling and experience both are positively associated with reported freedom and job security, opportunity to use one's skills, and the expressed belief that work provides information about oneself and the world. Experience, but not schooling, is also associated with more reported feelings of friendship and participation with other people at work;[12] more expressed satisfaction

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[10] Estimation made use of programs published by Berkman and others.

[11] See Theil, p. 397.

[12] Schooling accounts for significant amounts of variance in whether the "supervisor is successful in getting people to work together" and whether "the people (you) work with take a personal interest in (you)". But only 3 of 6 coefficients are in monotonic order; therefore it would not be correct to say that more schooling is associated with more of these benefits.

TABLE 1: Association of Reported Job Characteristics with Years Worked and Level of Education

Question	Years Worked	Level of Education	Number of Education Coefficients in Expected Monotonic Order (out of 6)
How much does your job...?	(x = statistically significant association)		
require that you have to keep learning new things		x	5
require you to work very fast*	x		4
allow you freedom as to how you do your work	x	x	4
require a high level of skill	x	x	5
require you to exert a lot of physical effort*		x	5
allow you to make a lot of decisions on your own		x	4
require you to be creative		x	4
allow you to do a variety of things		x	4
do things that are very repetitious (do things over and over)*		x	5
allow you to take part in decisions that affect you	x		4
help you to keep informed about what's happening in the world	x	x	6
help you to understand the sort of person you really are	x	x	4
(give you) a lot of say over what happens on your job	x		4
let you use the skills and knowledge you learned in school	x	x	5

*Effect of more years worked or higher level of education is favorable: i.e., less requirement to work very fast, exert a lost of physical effort, or do things that are very repetitious.

(Continued on next page.)

TABLE 1 (Continued) pg. 2

Question	Years Worked (x = statistically significant association)	Level of Education (x = statistically significant association)	Number of Education Coefficients in Expected Monotonic Order (out of 6)
How true is it of your job (that)...?			
(you are) given a lot of chances to make friends	x		3
the chances for promotion are good			3
(you have) an opportunity to develop (your) own special abilities	x		3
the work is interesting			3
the pay is good	x		3
(you are) given a lot of freedom to decide how (you) do (your) own work		x	5
(you are) given a chance to do the things (you) do best	x	x	4
the job security is good	x	x	4
the problems (you are) expected to solve are hard enough	x	x	5
(you) have enough authority to do (your) job			2
(your) fringe benefits are good		x	3
the physical surroundings are pleasant	x		3
(you) can see the results of (your) work			3
(you) can forget about (your) personal problems	x		4
the hours are good	x		3
(your) supervisor is successful in getting people to work together	x	x	3
promotions are handled fairly			3

(Continued on next page.)

Question	Years Worked (x = statistically significant association)	Level of Education (x = statistically significant association)	Number of Education Coefficients in Expected Montonic Order (out of 6)
How true is it of your job (that)...?			
the people (you) work with take a personal interest in (you)	x	x	3
(your) supervisor is friendly	x		3
the people (you) work with are friendly	x		3
All in all, how satisfied would you say you are with your job?	x	x	3

with the hours, pace of work, and physical surroundings; and more reported satisfaction with the pay and the job "all in all". Schooling, but not experience, is positively associated with the likelihood that workers say their jobs provide scope for autonomous and creative responses to novel tasks.[13] This pattern of associations is compatible with a theory that investments in schooling and experience both pay off in terms of more dignified and meaningful work, while experience also enhances social satisfaction on the job, and schooling helps men get more mentally stimulating work. These intangible, nonpecuniary benefits all accrue in addition to higher pay.

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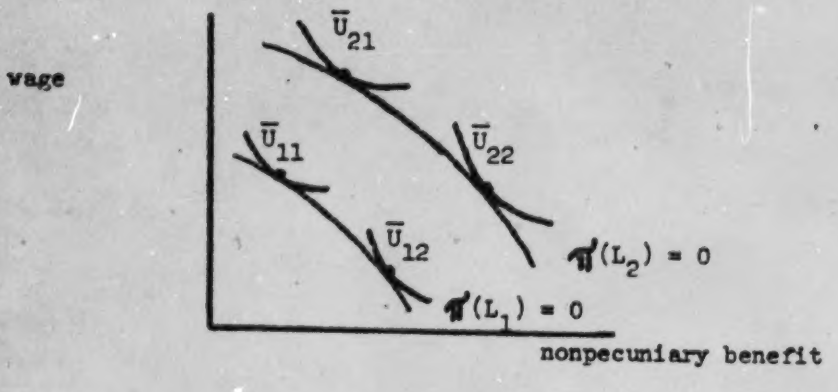
[13]It is surprising, in view of the fact that schooling is clearly associated with higher wages, that employees with more schooling are not also more likely to report "the pay is good". One explanation is that more schooling raises expectations at least as much as it improves actual earnings. Then employees with more schooling might feel that their pay, albeit higher, is not especially good -- relative to their higher expectations.

It is possible that this effect of schooling on expectations also explains the insignificant or ambiguous relationship of schooling to reports that the work is "interesting" or satisfying "all in all". Indeed, if schooling generally raises expectations about the quality of experience at work, then asking employees to rate their own jobs will lead to a general understatement of the association between schooling and some more objective measure of how good the job is (if goodness could be measured objectively). In short, the absence of a significant association of schooling with reports that the the pay is good, the work is interesting, and the job is satisfying overall makes the significant associations that do appear in Table 1 look more meaningful -- employees with more schooling report more mentally stimulating work even relative to their higher expectations. With appropriate data, this intervening hypothesis about expectations could be, and should be, tested.

Relationship between Wages and Nonpecuniary Benefits among Employees with Equal Schooling and Experience

The second part of the hypothesis to be tested asserts that, among any group of equally qualified workers, higher wages must compensate for less desirable nonpecuniary characteristics of jobs. Otherwise the number of applicants for the less desirable jobs would tend to decline, the marginal product of those remaining would rise, and employers would have to increase wages. A simplified, static picture of equilibrium in such a labor market is shown in Figure 1, which is adapted from Bowles.

FIGURE 1: Competitive Equilibrium in a Labor Market with Nonpecuniary Job Characteristics and Two Grades of Labor



$\pi(L_1) = 0$ and $\pi(L_2) = 0$ define the zero-profit job-characteristic frontiers attainable with two grades of labor, where L_2 is more productive than L_1. The equilibrium indifference curves for two individuals of type 1 are $\bar{U}_{11}$, $\bar{U}_{12}$; and for two individuals of type 2 the equilibrium indifference curves are $\bar{U}_{21}$, $\bar{U}_{22}$. The preceding section demonstrated that white, male, full-time employees do achieve higher combinations of pay and nonpecuniary benefits if they have had more schooling and experience. What remains to be shown is that the job-characteristic frontier is negatively sloped.

For this purpose, the sample was further stratified by level of schooling.[14a] Because some of the 35 job characteristics listed in Table 1 are highly intercorrelated, six of them were picked out by the criterion of low intercorrelation. These six characteristics were then included as regressors in an equation for hourly wage. The resulting estimated wage gradient "econometrically duplicates the information acquired by agents in the market, on the basis of which they make their decisions".[14b] Since the nonpecuniary characteristics were measured on a four-point scale, the marginal wage difference between two adjacent levels of a nonpecuniary characteristic was measured by the difference between the respective coefficients in the wage equation, where each level of the nonpecuniary characteristic was expressed as a dummy variable.[15]

The results are given in Table 2. The most consistent and significant set of coefficients are those associated with repetitiousness. For white males as a group, and within all but one educational stratum, those who describe their jobs as more repetitious receive significantly less pay. The only other consistent and significant coefficients in Table 2

[14a] To provide sufficient degrees of freedom, the "grade school only" and "some high school" strata were combined into a single, "less than high school" group.

[14b] Rosen.

[15] More precisely, let $x_i = 1$ if variable $x = i$, and $x_i = 0$ otherwise. If there are four levels of x, and there is a constant term in the regression, then let $i = 2,3,4$. Now the expression $b_2x_2 + b_3x_3 + b_4x_4$ is identical to:

$$(b_2-b_3)x_2 + (b_4-b_3)x_4 + b_3(x_2 + x_3 + x_4).$$

The coefficients reported in Table 2 were estimated in an equation where $(x_2 + x_3 + x_4)$ appeared instead of x_3, in order to obtain a direct test of the null hypothesis $b_2-b_3 = 0$ and $b_4-b_3 = 0$.

TABLE 2: Marginal Differences in Hourly Wage Associated with Differences in Selected Nonpecuniary Characteristics

	All White Males	Less Than High School	High School Grad.	Some College	College Grad.	More Than College
How much does your job re[illegible]re you to exert a lot of physical effort?						
"a little" - "none at all"					$.65	$-.20
"somewhat" - "a little"	$-.02	$.38	$-.02	$.64		
"a lot" - "somewhat"	-.06	-.37	.14	.46		
...allow you to make a lot of decisions on your own?						
"somewhat" - "a little"	.02	.64	-.47	.95		
"a lot" - "somewhat"	.01	-.67	.08	.53	.38	-2.17
...require you to be creative?						
"somewhat" - "a little"	.48	.75	.31	.37		
"a lot" - "somewhat"	-.29	.02	-.02	-.28	-.30	-1.26
...require you to do things that are very repetitious (do things over and over)?						
"somewhat" - "a little"	-1.19**	-1.33**	-1.41**	.09	-.15	-1.87*
"a lot" - "somewhat"	-.33	.25	-.03	-.97*	-.57	-1.18
...(give you) a lot of say over what happens in your job?						
"somewhat" - "a little"	.32	.04	.81*	-.62		
"a lot" - "somewhat"	.11	-.22	-.05	.38	.45	.05
...(give you) a lot of chances to make friends?						
"somewhat" - "a little"	-.23	.26	.24	.30	-1.21	-2.51*
"very true" - "somewhat"	-.50**	-.03	-.34	-1.03**	-.97	-1.80

* significant at .05 level
** significant at .01 level

(Continued on next page)

TABLE 2 (Continued) pg.2

		All White Males	Less Than High School	High School Grad.	Some College	College Grad.	More Than College
Years worked		.185**	.043	.191**	.171*	.843**	.488*
Apparent intelligence		2.50**	.11	.81	-.53	3.02	-.300
	F	8.41**	1.48	2.27**	1.75*	2.86**	2.58**
	(df)	(20,595)	(20,88)	(20,216)	(20,97)	(16,40)	(16,48)

* significant at .05 level
** significant at .01 level

have to do with making friends on the job. For men with more than high school training there is a negative relationship between pay and making friends at work.

There are generally consistent but insignificant coefficients associated with creativity and with having say on the job. For all white males, and within each educational stratum, employees who report that their jobs require them to be "somewhat" creative tend to be paid more than those who say their jobs demand either "a lot" or only "a little" creativity. There is also some indication that employees who report having more say on the job tend also to get more pay. Finally, wage differences associated with different levels of physical effort or autonomy in decision-making reveal no consistent pattern.

Assuming a competitive equilibrium does exist in the labor market, the estimates in Table 2 therefore imply that, throughout the range of observed transactions, there is a positive marginal cost to employers, and a positive marginal value to employees, when employees have more opportunity to make friends on the job -- or when the work is more repetitious.

The latter finding is stressed because it apparently contradicts the assumption that employees generally want less repetitious work. Rejecting this assumption would require an interpretation of the results in Table 1 very different from that in the preceding section. Less repetition and more novelty -- the attributes most particularly associated with more schooling -- would have to be seen as costs, which offset rather than augment the monetary returns to education. The choice whether to

interpret less repetition as a benefit or a cost depends on beliefs about human nature. It is related to the question whether human beings are "intrinsically motivated" or not. This is a question about which psychologists and management consultants have had lengthy debate, but which at least one leading psychologist does not believe susceptible to empirical resolution.[16]

If we choose to believe that employees in this sample have enough intrinsic motivation to consider less repetitious work a benefit, then the results in Table 2 must reflect some further stratification within groups of men who have equal levels of schooling, experience, and apparent intelligence. Suppose that the effective functioning of an organization requires there to be a positive relationship between pay, authority, and opportunity to make non-routine decisions within the organization.[17] This positive relationship between pay and nonpecuniary benefits tends to ensure that there will be plenty of qualified applicants competing for promotion at every stage of the ladder. As a result, more prestige is attached to high positions, and individuals in high positions can exercise more effective authority, than would be true if the nonpecuniary advantages of high positions were offset by lower pay. Indeed, it would seem totally absurd to award positions of authority in any organization or internal labor market by auctioning them off rather than by the kind of nonprice competitive contest which organizations presently sponsor.

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[16] Deci.

[17] Evidence of this relationship has been found in work organizations in several countries. See Jaques, and Tannenbaum and others.

The fact is that individuals cannot buy certain nonpecuniary benefits by offering to accept less pay. The only way to get these benefits is to compete for promotion.

Now suppose further that an individual's rate of promotion within organizations is only partly explained by experience and apparent intelligence as measured in this survey. Other important factors determining promotion might include ambition, unmeasured productive ability, social skills, or sheer luck. If these unobserved or random factors are sufficiently important, then the resulting differences in rates of advancement from less to more desirable jobs would account for the observed negative correlation between pay and more repetitious work.

If employees generally prefer less repetitious work, then there may be a positive relationship between pay and repetitiousness for entry-level jobs in <u>different</u> internal labor markets, though the entry-level jobs open to more highly educated applicants as a group would presumably offer both more pay and less repetition than the entry-level jobs open to groups with less education. But those individuals who are promoted faster would get more pay <u>and</u> less repetitious work than other individuals in the same educational group. Over time, the negative correlation between pay and repetitious work within internal labor markets could dominate the positive relationship, at the entry level, across different markets.[18]

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[18] This argument can be illustrated by a simple numerical example. Let w and q denote the wage rate and a nonpecuniary benefit, respectively. Let the subscript 0 denote characteristics of entry-level jobs, and subscript 1 stand for some later time. Suppose that, among a group of full-time employees who all have the same education, sex, race, and apparent intelligence, half begin their careers in jobs where $q_0 = 2$ and $w_0 = 10$. The other
(Footnote continued on following page.)

This line of reasoning is consistent with all the results in Table 2. Among men with the same level of education, years of experience, and apparent intelligence, those who have been promoted at a faster rate -- for whatever reason -- receive higher wages, report less repetition in their work, have had less opportunity to make friends on the job, and have more say about what happens on the job. Except for making friends on the job, the nonpecuniary benefits have the same (positive) relationship to wages within groups of men with equal schooling and experience as between groups with different levels of schooling and experience. Thus the payoff from schooling and experience shown in Table 1 is shown implicitly in Table 2 to resemble the payoff from rapid promotion -- except that rapid promotion results in a loss of opportunities to make friends at work, which must be reckoned as a cost.

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[18](Continued.) half start with $q_0 = 1$ and $w_0 = 12$. In the later period, suppose half have been promoted, and promotion is independent of the original choice of jobs. For those who have been promoted, $w_1 = 2w_0$ and $q_1 = 2q_0$; for the others, $w_1 = w_0$ and $q_1 = q_0$. Now compute the average value of w_1 for individuals who have the same level of q_1. (This is essentially what was done with the actual sample in estimating the differences in Table 2.) The results in this hypothetical case are:

q_1	mean w_1
1	12
2	17
4	20

These numbers illustrate how a positively valued job characteristic can have an apparent negative "price" if promotion brings more of that characteristic along with more pay.

Conclusion

Although it is possible to show that white, male, full-time employees who have more schooling and experience do obtain more "agreeable" jobs in addition to higher wages, it has not been possible with this data to measure implicit prices of intangible, nonpecuniary job characteristics. Presumably it would be possible to measure such prices if employees could be divided into still more homogeneous strata. "Equally qualified" employees could be defined more precisely with data on quality of schooling, quality of on-the-job training, cognitive ability, and ambition.[19] If implicit prices of nonpecuniary benefits could thereby be measured, the returns to human capital in production, the benefits and costs of changes in the productive process, the value of human time, and even aggregate "net economic welfare" could all be computed with far greater precision.

At this point, however, the most significant conclusion is that finding evidence of wage differentials which compensate for intangible nonpecuniary features of work is very difficult. Even within groups of white, male, full-time employees who have the same level of schooling, experience, and apparent intelligence, the relationship of wages to nonpecuniary benefits is more plausibly explained by the hierarchical structure of internal labor markets than by the model of a competitive auction. The practical implication is that employers have no significant monetary incentive to improve the nonpecuniary characteristics of work. This is probably why management consultants who write about "job enrichment" or

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[19] Effects of such variables on rate of promotion at Ford Motor Company have been shown by Wise.

improving the "quality of working life" ordinarily speak of improving both morale and productivity simultaneously.[20] No one knows how big an increase in nonpecuniary benefits would be required to justify a given loss in productivity.

If employers have no way to trade better jobs to their employees in return for lower labor costs, then what must happen over time to the nature of work? Adam Smith, in another well-known passage, wrote:

> In the progress of the division of labour, the employment of the far greater part of those who live by labour, that is, of the great body of people, comes to be confined to a few very simple operations, frequently to one or two. But the understandings of the greater part of men are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments. The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations, of which the effects too are, perhaps, always the same, or very nearly the same, has no occasion to exert his understanding, or to exercise his invention in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loses, therefore, the habit of such exertion, and generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his mind renders him, not only incapable of relishing or bearing a part in any rational conversation, but of conceiving any generous, noble, or tender sentiment, and consequently of forming any just judgment concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life.... His dexterity at his own particular trade seems, in this manner, to be acquired at the expense of his intellectual, social and martial virtues. But in every improved and civilized society this is the state into which the labouring poor, that is, the great body of the people, must necessarily fall, unless government takes some pains to prevent it."[21]

Smith considered this a sufficient danger to warrant public support of schools, much against his general principles. He gave no reason to believe that competitive markets would prevent the degradation of human labor. At this point we have no evidence that he was mistaken.

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[20] See, for example, Maher, Rush, Greenblatt, Kraft and Williams, Paul and others.

[21] Smith, pp. 734-735.

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EDUCATION, AGE, AND DEMANDS FOR IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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EDUCATION, AGE AND DEMANDS FOR IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE

Introduction and Summary

The current surplus of college graduates means that some graduates must take jobs which previously were filled by workers without college degrees. What happens when these college graduates find themselves holding the same job titles as people without degrees? Other studies have found that workers who consider themselves overeducated for their work express dissatisfaction with their jobs and with themselves.[1] But what action, if any, do they take? If college graduates find themselves trapped in jobs which do not recognize their skills and attitudes, do they express a desire for changes that are any different from the changes their less-educated co-workers would like? Many writers in the early 1970s expected the new generation of highly educated workers to make new kinds of demands: for greater participation in decision-making, more flexible hours and assignments, more interesting work, and the like.

This paper will report some results of an inquiry into these questions, through a survey of workers in a large municipal bureaucracy.[2] The survey asked how much respondents in four different occupational titles would like to have each of ten or twelve specific, hypothetical changes in their actual jobs, and how much they were satisfied with specific aspects of the job. Although expressed desires for certain changes were found to be related, in the expected way, to dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the job, neither desire for changes nor satisfaction with aspects of the

job was consistently related to age or educational attainment.

The Surplus of Educated Workers and Predictions of Their Responses

For the generation born and raised after World War II, school has been a way of life. As children, most of them had little to do except play, watch television, and go to school. Prosperity, parental aspirations, and the growing prestige of technicians of all kinds have combined to keep more of this generation in school longer. In 1960, colleges enrolled 17.3 percent of individuals between age 18 and 24; by 1970 the percentage rose to 25.8, and in 1971 to 26.3. Moreover, this age cohort itself represented a larger proportion of the total population in 1970 than in 1960, so while the total population grew 13.3 percent in that decade, college enrollment jumped 117.4 percent.[3]

While college enrollment more than doubled in the 1960's, the number of professional, technical, managerial, and administrative jobs increased only 33.5 percent. Furthermore, the absolute number of such jobs actually fell by about 350,000 between 1971 and 1972.[4] Evidently the number of high-prestige jobs is not growing as fast as the number of people who hope to qualify for them.[5] Those college graduates who cannot find work which suits their qualifications must now take jobs which offer less pay[6] and also, presumably, less nonpecuniary benefits,[7] than they expected.

In the early 1970s many writers were suggesting that the large new cohort of college graduates would not just passively accept their new situation, but would demand changes in the workplace. In particular,

these highly educated young people were expected to want the kind of intrinsic satisfaction and personal meaning in work that sociological studies had found to be associated with professional and managerial employment.[8] This generation had demonstrated its own idealism and interest in socially useful work through participation in the Peace Corps, Vista, and similar programs. Then its resistance to the Vietnam draft, whether viewed as idealistic self-sacrifice or as cynical self-preservation, nevertheless demonstrated that this generation would not be pushed around. Employers, politicians, and social scientists began to worry that this idealistic and sometimes unmanageable group of college kids would cause disruption when they finally went to work. Daniel Yankelovich, after a series of five national surveys of college-age youth between 1967 and 1973, actually concluded:

> "The true nature of the campus rebellion now stands out more clearly--as a quest for new life styles and life values, with work-related values as an important part of this search."[9]

Yankelovich also found that the quest was not limited to young people actually in college, but involved noncollege youth as well. However, though their values might be similar, their expectations were not. Yankelovich observed, "The idea of meaningful work is attractive to these high school graduates--but they do not really expect to get it from their jobs."[10]

Shortly after the American disengagement from Vietnam, an outpouring of books and articles, outside the technical research literature, addressed the subject of change in the nature and organization of work.[11] It is not possible to prove whether or not publication of this writing for

general readership was principally motivated by hopes or fears surrounding the entry of the anti-war college generation into the labor force. Nevertheless, it is difficult to find a piece of writing from the post-Vietnam period on a subject such as work humanization, job enrichment, or the quality of working life, which did not mention the large numbers of young and highly educated workers presently going to work.

For example, Work in America in its very first paragraph pointed to "the youth who seek a voice in their society", and three paragraphs later asserts that, "A general increase in their educational and economic status has placed many American workers in a position where having an interesting job is now as important as having a job that pays well." George Strauss, a well-known researcher in the field, agreed that,

> "..this particular generation has been raised according to permissive standards, affected by the campus revolts of the 1960s, and is thus particularly resistant to authority...success among them is measured less in monetary and physical terms and more in terms of self-fulfillment, living an agreeable life style, and doing meaningful work."

Furthermore, Strauss wrote:

> "As workers' material standards of living improve, as they become better educated, and as their expectations change, they can be expected to show increasing preference for freedom on the job."[12]

No less an authority on manpower than Eli Ginzberg wrote in a similar vein:

> "The steadily rising levels of educational achievement and the expectational consequences thereof are unquestionably resulting in new and different orientations to work on the part of young workers..." [13]

These and other informed observers expected young and highly educated workers to be a force for change in the workplace. Yet, as of 1976, it would be difficult to point to any major change that these workers have caused. A commentator in Business Week suggests that high unemployment

has forced potential insurgents to watch for their own job security. A vice-president for employee relations commented that the recession "could be a blessing in disguise," and a corporate president agreed that "young workers have gotten the 60s out of their system."[14] While it is probably true that high unemployment has inhibited expressions of workers' demands for change, the data to be presented here also suggests that conventional wisdom may have overestimated the power of age and educational attainment to predict what kind of changes workers will want to make in their actual jobs.

The Data

The sample consisted of 164 Accountants, 214 College Office Assistants (secretaries in a public university system), 90 Nurse's Aides, and 427 Social Service Supervisors. All respondents were members of a large and heterogeneous public employee union. For the three larger groups, questionnaires were mailed to everyone on the union's mailing list in those jobs titles. The overall response rate from this mailing was 22 percent. To check for non-response bias, we visited several work sites and obtained questionnaires from individuals who had not returned them by mail. Comparison of these "call-back" questionnaires with the "mail-back" sample indicates that the mail-back group over-represents young, white males among The Social Service Supervisors; but there are no consistent differences for Accountants or College Office Assistants. For Nurse's Aides, we administered the questionnaire through personal interviews rather than by mail.

The dependent variables for this analysis are the responses to the following question, which appeared at the very beginning of the questionnaire:

Here are some ideas what have been suggested for changing the job of [respondent's title]. Please indicate how much you personally would like to have each of these changes in your own job, by writing one of the following numbers in the blank space before each suggested change:

4 = you would like it very much

3 = you would like it

2 = you would not like it

1 = you would dislike it very much

0 = this is something you already have in your job.

A list of proposed changes followed. These had been developed through discussions with union officials, and through group interviews with a small number of people from each of the four occupations. Tables 1 through 4 each show the hypothetical changes presented to one occupational group, and the distribution of responses.

The main hypothesis of interest here is that differences in individual characteristics will be associated with differences in expressed desire for changes in the job. In particular, younger workers and those with more schooling are expected more often to say they would want more opportunity to become personally involved in their work, through participation in a labor-management committee, having time to acquire job-related skills and information, having a chance to demonstrate new ideas of their own, or working in an autonomous team.

Intervening between the independent and dependent variables are a set of variables measuring satisfaction with various aspects of the job. The questions which elicited this information, and the distribution of responses

Table 1: Accountants

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very Much	N.A. or already have it
1) Being on a committee with other Accountants, program directors at your location and other administrators--which would meet 2 hours every week during work time to decide how to improve work procedures and conditions where you work. (COMMITT)	47%	40%	11%	2%	1%
2) Being allowed to spend up to 2 hours every week during work time acquiring new skills, information, and expertise to help you in your work. You could spend this time reading, gathering information on your own, enrolling in courses, getting together with other Accountants to organize training workshops for yourselves, or in any other way that would be useful to you-provided that you keep your supervisor informed of how you are spending this time (SKILLS).	51	38	7	2	1
3) Being allowed to arrive at work any time between 8 and 11 am, and to leave at any time between 4 and 7 pm--provided you work the same total number of hours each day as you do now. (FLEXDAY)	50	25	18	8	0
4) Reimbursement of up to $700 a year for the cost of education or counseling services, whether related to the job or not (EDUCOST)	59	29	9	3	0
5) Having the opportunity to submit written proposals for demonstrations of new or improved ways to perform accounting functions. A committee of Accountants and adminstrators would make resources available from a discretionary fund to support the best proposed demonstrations. If you win, you would be in charge of carrying out your own proposal (DEMONS)	35	47	11	2	4
6) Having your working hours reduced by 2 hours a week. (LESSTIME)	54	31	12	3	1
7) Being allowed to come and go from work at any time you choose-provided you work the same total number of hours each week as you do now. (FLEXWEEK)	42	18	26	14	1
8) Being part of a team with your supervisor and co-workers, which would have the authority to decide as a group how the work is done-provided the total output of work is the same as it is now. (TEAM)	43	38	8	2	9
9) Being allowed to take a whole year off with half pay after every 10 years--with no effect on sick leave, annual leave, or terminal leave (SABBAT)	60	18	11	9	2

Table 2: College Office Assistants (B)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would dislike very much	N.A. or already have it
1) Being on a committee with other College Office Assistants, faculty, administrators and students-which would meet for 2 hours every week during work time to decide how to improve procedures and conditions where you work. (COMMITT)	43%	33%	20%	1%	3%
2) Being allowed to spend up to 2 hours every week during work time acquiring new skills, information, and expertise to help you in your work. You could spend this time reading, gathering information on your own, enrolling in courses, getting together with other College Office Assistants to organize training workshops for yourselves, or in any other way that would be useful to you-provided that you keep your supervisor informed of how you are spending this time. (SKILLS)	56	29	11	3	3
3) Being allowed to arrive at work any time between 8 and 11 am, and to leave at any time between 4 and 7 pm-provided you work the same total number of hours each day as you do now. There would be a procedure for coordinating individual schedules. (FLEXDAY)	45	24	17	12	2
4) Reimbursement of up to $500 a year for the cost of education or counseling services whether related to the job or not. (EDUCOST)	47	31	13	2	7
5) Having the opportunity to submit written proposals for demonstrations of new or improved ways to perform office functions. A committee of College Office Assistants and administrators would make resources available from a discretionary fund to support the best proposal demonstrations. If you win, you would be in charge of carrying out your own proposal. (DEMONS)	36	40	17	3	5
6) Having your working hours reduced by 2 hours a week. (LESSTIME)	72	22	2	2	1
7) Having 5 days every year for thorough orientation and training sessions, which would be planned by a committee of College Office Assistants, administrators, and training consultants. (ORIENT)	58	28	9	3	2
8) Being allowed to come and go from work at any time you choose-provided you work the same total number of hours each week as you do now. There would be a procedure for coordinating individual schedules. (FLEXWEEK)	40	20	20	10	11
9) Being part of a team with your supervisor and co-workers, which would have the authority to decide as a group how the work is done-provided the total output of work is the same as it is now. (TEAM)	41	29	8	4	18
10) Being allowed to take a whole year off with half pay after every 10 years-with no effect on sick leave, annual leave, or terminal leave. (SABBAT)	75	11	3	2	9

Table 3: Nurse's Aides

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very Much	N.A. or already have it
1) Having 10 or 15 minutes at the beginning of your shift, and another 10 or 15 minutes at the end of your shift, for the Nurse and Aides who are going off duty to tell the Nurses and Aides who are coming on duty about what is happening with the patients on the ward. (BRIEF)	42%	14%	1%	1%	42%
2) Being on a committee with other Nurse's Aides, doctors, nurses, technicians, and administrators-which would meet for 2 hours every week during work time to decide how to improve procedures and conditions in this hospital. (COMMITT)	47	40	2	1	10
3) Having the option of working two 4-hour shifts each day, with time off in between to do other things-instead of one continuous 8-hour shift. (FLEXDAY)	3	11	43	40	2
4) Having 5 days with pay every year for thorough orientation and training sessions, which would include topics like emergency procedures, taking vital signs, and communication with patients. (ORIENT)	61	31	2	1	4
5) Having your work time reduced by 2 hours a week with no cut in pay (LESSTIME)	56	37	4	3	0
6) Payment of up to $400 a year for the cost of any education, training, or counseling services, whether related to the job or not. (EDUCOST)	53	38	4	2	2
7) Being part of a team with your supervisor and co-workers,which have the authority to decide as a group how the work is done--provided the total output of work is the same as it is now. (TEAM)	42	31	3	3	20
8) Having a contest every year for Nurse's Aides in your hospital,where the Nurse's Aides who write in the best suggestions for improving patient care would win an extra week of paid vacation. The winners would be choosen by a committee of nurses, doctors, and administrators. (CONTEST)	50	34	12	3	0
9) Having the option of working different amounts of time in different days-provided you work the same total number of hours each week as you do now. (FLEXWEEK)	23	33	26	12	1
10) Being allowed to take a whole year off with half pay after every 10 years-with no effect on sick leave, annual leave,or terminal leave. (SABBAT)	44	30	17	8	1
11) Giving patients a form when they leave the hospital to write down the name of any Nurse's Aides who have given them extra care. Aides whose names get written down by a lot of patients could get up to 5 extra paid holidays each year. Aides whose names do not get written down by any patients would not get any extra holidays,but no one would lose any time off because of this,and no one's evaluation would be affected. (PATCARE)	37	31	18	11	3

Table 4: Social Service Supervisors (I)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it
1) Being on a committee with other Social Service Supervisors, program directors at your location, and other administrators-which would meet for 2 hours every week during work time to decide how to improve procedures and conditions where you work. (COMMITT)	46%	35%	11%	3%	5%
2) Being allowed to spend up to 2 hours every week during work time acquiring new skills, information, and expertise to help you in your work. You could spend this time reading, gathering information on your own, enrolling in courses, getting together with other Social Service Supervisors to organize training workshops for yourselves, or in any other way that would be useful to you-provided you keep your supervisor informed of how you are spending this time. (SKILLS)	57	29	7	2	5
3) Being allowed to arrive at work any time between 8 and 11 am, and to leave any time between 4 and 7 pm--provided you work the same total number of hours each day as you do now. There would be a procedure for coordinating individual schedules.(FLEXDAY)	53	24	14	8	1
4) Reimbursement of up to $700 a year for the cost of education or counseling services, whether related to the job or not.(EDUCOST)	67	23	6	3	1
5) Having the opportunity to submit written proposals for demonstrations of new or improved ways to deliver services. A committee of Social Service Supervisors, case workers, and administrators would make resources available from a discretionary fund to support the best proposed demonstrations. If you win, you would be in charge of carrying out your own proposal. (DEMONS)	42	42	10	2	4
6)Having your working hours reduced by 2 hours a week. (LESSTIME)	49	33	12	4	2
7) Being allowed to come and go from work at any time you choose-provided you work the same total number of hours each week as you do now. There would be a procedure for coordinating individual schedules (FLEXWEEK)	44	19	20	8	8
8) Being part of a team with your supervisor and co-workers,which would have the authority to decide as a group how the work is done-provided the total output of work is the same as it is now.(TEAM)	39	33	12	3	13
9) Being allowed to take a whole year off with half pay after every 10 years-with no effect on sick leave, annual leave, or terminal leave. (SABBAT)	71	15	5	3	6

TABLE 5: ACCOUNTANTS

Percentage of Number Responding

All in all, how satisfied would you say you are with your job? (ALLJSAT)

Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Not at All Satisfied	Number Responding
8%	57%	27%	8%	141

How satisfied would you say you are with each of the following aspects of your job?

	(Please check one) Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Not at All Satisfied	Number Responding
Pay. (ASPAY)	4%	40%	37%	19%	158
Fringe benefits. (ASFRINGE)	41	45	11	3	157
Time off. (ASTIMOFF)	42	48	8	2	157
Job security. (ASJOBSEC)	52	40	4	4	155
Opportunity to get the facts and information necessary to do the job well. (ASFACTS)	8	39	28	25	157
Opportunity for promotion. (ASPROMO)	2	20	38	40	158
Opportunity to learn new skills and abilities. (ASNUSKIL)	1	21	40	38	157
Opportunity to make friends on the job. (ASFRIEND)	15	53	22	10	158
Opportunity to decide how you do your work. (ASHOWDO)	11	53	23	13	158
Opportunity to use the skills and abilities you have. (ASUSEKL)	6	36	30	28	157
Opportunity to do a variety of things. (ASVARIE)	7	37	32	24	155
Opportunity to get recognition for your work (ASRECOG)	3	27	29	40	157
Opportunity to have an impact on the way things are done. (ASIMPACT)	1	30	32	37	158
Opportunity to get competent supervision. (ASSUPERV)	8	35	27	31	158
Opportunity to use your time as you see fit. (ASUSETIM)	11	49	25	15	158

TABLE 6: COLLEGE OFFICE ASSISTANTS (B)

Percentage of Number Responding:

All in all, how satisfied would you say you are with your job? (ALLJSAT)

Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Not at All Satisfied	Number Responding
32%	56%	9%	3%	175

How satisfied would you say you are with each of the following aspects of your job?

	(Please check one) Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Not at All Satisfied	Number Responding
Pay. (ASPAY)	13%	60%	18%	9%	194
Fringe benefits. (ASFRINGE)	54	42	4	0	194
Time off. (ASTIMOFF)	46	45	7	2	192
Job security. (ASJOBSEC)	69	28	2	2	189
Opportunity to get the facts and information necessary to do the job well. (ASFACTS)	18	40	28	14	194
Opportunity for promotion. (ASPROMO)	6	21	36	37	192
Opportunity to learn new skills and abilities. (ASNUSKIL)	9	30	34	27	192
Opportunity to make friends on the job. (ASFRIEND)	29	59	9	3	194
Opportunity to decide how you do your work. (ASHOWDO)	32	40	20	8	194
Opportunity to use the skills and abilities you have. (ASNUSEKL	27	39	22	12	194
Opportunity to do a variety of things. (ASVARIE)	31	34	23	12	192
Opportunity to get recognition for your work. (ASRECOG)	14	30	29	27	193
Opportunity to have an impact on the way things are done. (ASIMPACT)	15	27	32	26	193
Opportunity to get competent supervision. (ASSUPERV)	19	40	16	25	189
Opportunity to use your time as you see fit. (ASUSETIM)	20	45	13	22	193

TABLE 7: NURSE'S AIDES

Percentage of Number Responding

All in all, how satisfied would you say you are with your job?(ALLJSAT)

Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Not at All Satisfied	Number Responding
48%	36%	16%	0	89

How satisfied would you say you are with each of the following aspects of your job?

	(Please check one) Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Not at All Satisfied	Number Responding
Pay. (ASPAY)	6%	37%	41%	17%	90
Fringe benefits.(ASFRINGE)	22	57	16	5	90
Time off.(ASTIMOFF)	37	50	11	2	90
Job security. (ASJOBSEC)	33	47	14	7	88
Opportunity to get the facts and information necessary to do the job well.(ASFACTS)	38	36	18	8	89
Opportunity for promotion. (ASPROMO)	24	32	26	18	90
Opportunity to learn new skills and abilities.(ASNUSKIL)	34	28	23	14	90
Opportunity to make friends on the job. (ADFRIEND)	60	33	7	1	86
Opportunity to decide how you do your work.(ASHOWDO)	50	36	13	1	90
Opportunity to use the skills and abilities you have.(ASUSEKL)	44	34	13	8	90
Opportunity to do a variety of things. (ASVARIE)	34	34	27	5	89
Opportunity to get recognition for your work. (ASRECOG)	33	26	25	17	89
Opportunity to have an impact on the way things are done. (ASIMPACT)	22	37	24	17	89
Opportunity to get competent supervision.(ASSUPERV)	50	26	21	3	88
Opportunity to use your time as you see fit.(ASUSETIM)	35	42	14	9	88

TABLE 8: SOCIAL SERVICE SUPERVISORS (I)

Percentage of Number Responding

All in all, how satisfied would you say you are with your job? (ALLJSAT)

Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Not at All Satisfied	Number Responding
11%	46%	35%	8%	364

How satisfied would you say you are with each of the following aspects of your job?

	(Please check one) Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Not at All Satisfied	Number Responding
Pay. (ASPAY)	6%	41%	35%	17%	401
Fringe benefits. (ASFRINGE)	35	53	11	1	402
Time off. (ASTIMOFF)	33	51	13	3	399
Job security. (ASJOBSEC)	30	43	15	12	395
Opportunity to get the facts and information necessary to do the job well. (ASFACTS)	3	23	40	33	401
Opportunity for promotion. (ASPROMO)	1	7	20	72	400
Opportunity to learn new skills and abilities. (ASNUSKIL)	3	20	32	45	400
Opportunity to make friends on the job. (ASFRIEND)	19	59	14	8	401
Opportunity to decide how you do your work. (ASHOWDO)	13	41	26	20	397
Opportunity to use the skills and abilities you have. (ASUSEKL)	9	31	27	33	402
Opportunity to do a variety of things. (ASVARIE)	12	31	29	28	401
Opportunity to get recognition for your work. (ASRECOG)	5	21	28	46	401
Opportunity to have an impact on the way things are done. (ASIMPACT)	5	17	32	46	402
Opportunity to get competent supervision. (ASSUPERV)	5	31	28	36	401
Opportunity to use your time as you see fit. (ASUSETIM)	10	43	25	22	402

in each occupational group are shown in Tables 5 through 8.

Desire for particular kinds of change is expected to be associated with certain kinds of expressed dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction itself is expected to correlate with certain characteristics of individuals. In this sense, dissatisfaction is expected to act as an intervening variable between individual characteristics and desire for change in the job.

Findings

Regression of stated desires for change on expressed satisfactions gave the following statistically significant results:

1. Desire for a labor-management committee (COMMITT) is stronger among Accountants who feel dissatisfied with the amount of impact they have, among College Office Assistants who dislike the lack of promotional opportunity (and perhaps see this as a substitute), and among Nurse's Aides who say they are satisfied with their opportunity to decide how they do the work (perhaps an expression of identification with the organization).
2. The idea of having some time to acquire job-related skills and information (SKILLS) was more attractive to College Office Assistants who were dissatisfied with their opportunities for making friends, and to Social Service Supervisors who did not like their lack of opportunity to decide how they did their work. Evidently some of the former group read this proposal as a social opportunity (seminars and workshops) while the latter group viewed it as possibly enhancing their autonomy.

3. A flexible work day (FLEXDAY) appealed generally (when the four occupational groups were pooled together) to respondents who were satisfied with their fringe benefits and job security--and dissatisfied with their time off, promotional chances, and opportunities to learn new skills and to decide how to do their work. In short, flexible work hours appeal to workers who are comfortable but restless and bored.

4. Reimbursement for general educational expense (EDUCOST) commends itself most favorably to Accountants who feel they are doing professional accounting work but not getting enough recognition for it (possibly they have an interest in keeping their skills fresh for outside consulting); also to College Office Assistants who feel their work does make use of their skills but lacks variety. The idea also appeals to College Office Assistants and Nurse's Aides who express dissatisfactions with the supervision they get -- this unexpected correlation seems to be picking up a desire to get even with some supervisors who flaunt their educational credentials.

5. Stated desire for opportunities to demonstrate new ideas (DEMONS) does not seem to correlate meaningfully with anything.

6. Among the combined sample of all respondents, desire for a two-hour reduction in the work week (LESSTIME) is strongest for those who feel dissatisfied with their time off now and with their lack of opportunity to learn new skills, but who are satisfied with job security.

7. Flexible weekly hours (FLEXWEEK) have most appeal in the combined sample for workers dissatisfied with time off; for Accountants dissatisfied with lack of variety; College Office Assistants who are satisfied that their work has an impact but dissatisfied with time off and with lack

of opportunity to decide how they do their work (similar to the pattern for FLEXDAY); and Nurse's Aides who are most satisfied with opportunity to learn new skills (apparently a spurious correlation).

8. Desire for autonomous work teams (TEAM) sometimes reflects satisfaction with the organization, and sometimes dissatisfaction with the way work is organized. Accountants satisfied with fringe benefits and College Office Assistants satisfied with their opportunity to learn new skills on the job, as well as Nurse's Aides who are satisfied with promotional chances and opportunity to use the skills they have, all express more interest in working in small teams, as do employees in the pooled sample who like their chances for promotion. But Social Service Supervisors who feel they are not getting the facts and information they need -- and Nurse's Aides who are dissatisfied with their present opportunities to make friends, have an impact, or use their time as they see fit -- all have a positive interest in teams, too.
9. A year's leave of absence with half pay after every ten years (SABBAT), generally the most popular proposal, appeals most to respondents in the combined sample who are dissatisfied with the time off they have now.

Having established that some of these satisfaction variables are related as expected to desire for certain changes, we may now ask whether the characteristics of individuals account for differences in desire for change, and to what extent any connection between individual characteristics and desire for change can be traced through expressions of satisfaction. However, the results show such a tenuous association between individual characteristics and desire for change that the hypothesis about satisfaction as in intervening variable cannot even be tested.

Regression of desires for change on characteristics of individuals showed a few consistent and statistically significant connections. But the characteristics of main interest here -- age and educational background -- seem to have little consistent effect.[15] In this sample, more highly educated workers in general show no stronger interest in job changes that would permit greater self-direction or personal involvement -- nor in any other kind of change in the job. This negative result might have been discounted if the proposed job changes were simply irrelevant to the concerns of people in this sample. But the significant associations between desires for change and expressed satisfaction, summarized just above, would seem to bar such an escape. The inescapable conclusion from this data seems to be that education is not one of the variables that affect preferences for changes in the job. Similarly, age by itself has no consistent association with desires for change in the job.

A few independent variables do have consistent and significant effects. Among Social Service Supervisors, people who have experienced abnormal instability in their job assignments express greater enthusiasm for job changes, especially for flexible hours. They also express more dissatisfaction with most aspects of the job. A similar pattern occurs for Social Service Supervisors who are not actually supervising anyone but who would like to do so. They have a stronger preference for most of the proposed job changes, especially the autonomous work teams. And they, too, express more dissatisfaction with most aspects of the job.

Among College Office Assistants, those who have more frequent contact with students express less desire for most changes in the job, and generally

more satisfaction with the job as it is. Interacting with students provides satisfaction which the proposed changes evidently would not enhance.

A surprise among the Accountants: those who have had to wait a longer time since their last promotion relative to the length of time it took to get that last promotion have less enthusiasm for change, and more satisfaction with the job now. It is hard to avoid labeling this as civil service stagnation.

These four variables are not, strictly speaking, characteristics of individuals; they reflect aspects of a person's experience on the job. Most of the purely personal characteristics measured here simply do not show consistent connections with ratings of the preferred job changes. Only two exceptions were found. Social Service Supervisors who have another wage earner in the household report less enthusiasm for changing the job -- except that they would like more time off -- and report more satisfaction with almost everything. Also among Social Service Supervisors, males have less interest in the proposed job changes -- but they also report less satisfaction with most aspects of the job. This is the only variable which affects desire for change in the sameway as it affects satisfaction. Male Social Service Supervisors seem to be in a funk.

Conclusion

The associations between individual characteristics and desire for various kinds of changes in the job are highly complex. In this sample there are no simple ways to categorize people for the purpose of predicting how they will want to make changes in their jobs. Demands for change are in large part idiosyncratic, an expression of individual personalities. To the

extent that the union leadership or management are interested in improving the quality of working life for these employees, they would need to be sensitive to unpredictable individual differences.

As for the college cohort of the 1960s, these findings give no reason to expect them to be a force for any kind of change in the workplace -- at least by virtue of age and education alone. But cohorts, too, may have their idiosyncrasies.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Robert P. Quinn: "Overeducation and Jobs: Can the Great Training Robbery Be Stopped?" Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan; mimeo, 1975.

[2]The survey is described and additional results are given, in David Stern: "Why Unions Do Not Bargain for Job Enrichment: Some New Evidence"; Department of Education, University of California, Berkeley; mimeo, July 1976.

[3]1972 Statistical Abstract, Tables 161, 162. Also see generally Richard B. Freeman: The Overeducated American; Academic Press, 1976.

[4]1972 Statistical Abstract, Tables 366.

[5]Michael F. Crowley: "Professional Manpower: The Job Market Turn-around." Monthly Labor Review 95 (10):9-15. Also Freeman: The Overeducated American, p. 17.

[6]For evidence of this, see Freeman: The Overeducated American, Chapter 2.

[7]Some evidence of the usual, and presumably expected, association between educational attainment and nonpecuniary qualities of work is given in David Stern: "Education, Wages, and Nonpecuniary Qualities of Work: Some Empirical Findings"; University of California, Berkeley; mimeo, September, 1976.

[8]Nancy C. Morse and Robert S. Weiss: "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job"; American Sociological Review, 20: 191-198; 1955.

[9]Daniel Yankelovich: "The Meaning of Work"; in Jerome M. Rosow (ed.): The Worker and the Job, Coping with Change; Prentice-Hall, 1974; pp. 36-37.

[10]Yankelovich, p. 41.

[11]Description of the sudden deluge of writing was given by Ted Mills, Director of the new National Quality of Work Center, in an address to the Public Affairs Council, Washington, D.C., May 24, 1973. Books of the period include: David Jenkins: Job Power, Blue and White Collar Democracy; New York: Doubleday, 1973; Harold Sheppard and Neal Herrick: Where Have All the Robots Gone?; New York: New Press, 1972; Studs Terkel: Working; New York: Random House, 1974; Work in America, report of a special task force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1973; also the book cited in footnote 9. Among the media features was a Newsweek cover story: "Who Wants to Work?"; March 26, 1973.

[12]George Strauss: "Job Satisfaction, Motivation, and Job Redesign"; Chapter 2 in Organizational Behavior, Research and Issues; Industrial Relations Research Association Series, 1974; pp. 21-22. Second part of the quote is from Chapter 8 of the same volume, "Implications for Industrial Relations", written with Raymond E. Miles and Charles C. Snow; p. 195.

[13]Eli Ginzberg: "Work Structuring and Manpower Realities"; paper prepared for the International Conference on the Quality of Working Life; Arden House, September, 1972; p. 14.

[14]Quoted by John Hoerr: "Worker Unrest: Not Dead, But Playing Possum"; Business Week May 10, 1976, p. 133.

[15]To test whether large standard errors, and resulting statistical insignificance, were due to use of ordinary least squares regression with dependent variables measured on a four-point scale (creating some heteroscedasticity), each dependent variable was decomposed into a series of binary "splits", and the probability of a respondent falling on one side or another of each split was estimated by conditional logit analysis. The results were not qualitatively different from those shown in the text.

Previous studies have also found mixed effects of education. One (Barnowe, J.T., T.W. Mangione, and R.P. Quinn: "An empirically derived model of job satisfaction." Unpublished working paper, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1972) found no consistent relationship between educational attainment and importance of various aspects of a job in predicting job satisfaction. A measure of overall job satisfaction was regressed on 33 separate "quality of employment predictors." The regression coefficients were standardized (converted to beta coefficients) and then ranked in order of size. When these rankings are compared for workers with different amounts of education, results are inconclusive. Comparing 410 workers with some college or more versus 915 workers with high school or less, the most relevant findings were as follows (a low rank denotes greater importance):

Item	Rank	
	less educated	more educated
Worker's job allowed him to make a lot of decisions on his own.	27	3
Worker had enough facts and information to do his job well.	29	9
Worker's employer made many fringe benefits available to him.	1	25
Worker's job required that he be creative	6	30
Worker's job did not prevent him from using skills he would like to be using.	3	1
Worker was a full-time worker who received a high income from his job.	10.5	8

[15](continued) The first three items in this list support the hypothesis that more educated workers give relatively more weight to autonomy than to monetary rewards, as measured by fringe benefits. The second item seems to suggest that educated workers are more concerned with understanding their work more thoroughly, perhaps including how it fits into a larger context. But the fourth item contradicts the hypothesis, and the last two items show no difference.

Earlier studies had mixed results. Asking people simply to rank the aspects of a job that was most important to them, C.E. Jurgenson ("Selected factors which influence job preferences." Journal of Applied Psychology, 31 (6):553-564, 1947.) found pay was more important for less educated people, while J.P. Troxell ("Elements in job satisfaction." Personnel 31 (3):199-205, 1954.) found just the opposite.

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WHY UNIONS DO NOT BARGAIN FOR JOB ENRICHMENT: SOME NEW EVIDENCE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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WHY UNIONS DO NOT BARGAIN FOR JOB ENRICHMENT: SOME NEW EVIDENCE

The sudden deluge, in 1972 and 1973, of writing[1] on job enrichment, quality of working life, and the possibility of employees becoming more personally involved in work seemed, for a moment, to put the leaders of organized labor on the defensive. At a UAW conference of production workers in February, 1973, during a discussion of "noneconomic issues" (health and safety, compulsory overtime, disciplinary procedures), one delegate asked to consider what could be done about "the boring, repetitive jobs in production,"[2] President Leonard Woodcock retorted,

> "There are a lot of academicians, who are writing a lot of nonsense, who don't have any answer either. But they like to create a professionalism which could give more jobs to some people who have never done any real work in their whole lives."[3]

In the same month, the AFL-CIO magazine American Federationist reprinted a sarcastic speech by William Winpisinger, vice president of the Machinists, in which he ridiculed the "psychic penicillin known as job enrichment" prescribed by "labor's good friends in government, intellectual, and academic circles."[4] Instead, Winpisinger argued for

> more of the kinds of job enrichment that unions have fought for -- better wages, shorter hours, vested pensions, a right to have a say in their working conditions, the right to be promoted on the basis of seniority and all the rest.[5]

In November, 1973, the UAW did establish with General Motors a joint Committee to Improve the Quality of Worklife, with the responsibility to review, develop, and evaluate projects that "improve the work environment."[6] However, this Committee operates outside the actual collective bargaining process. The UAW leadership may have a sincere interest in learning about how to improve the quality of worklife, but they are not pressing the issue at the bargaining table.

Reluctance to initiate bargaining over the quality of worklife has not been limited to the UAW. Albert Blum and others examined contracts from 108 different unions in 1970-1971, looking for

> any clause referring directly to job enrichment or other motivational programs or, indeed, to any contractual attempt to make work more diversified and interesting....[7]

They concluded that "formal acceptance of motivational concepts or programs in collective bargaining agreements has been almost non-existent."[8]

"If job redesign programs are good for workers," wrote George Strauss, Raymond Miles, and Charles Snow, "then unions should take the initiative in getting them introduced (as some professional unions have done)."[9] Why, then, do so few union contracts provide for anything resembling job enrichment? And why is it true, as Mitchell Fein claims,[10] that the studies conducted in recent years "to prove that workers really want job enrichment" have <u>all</u> been initiated by management, never by unions?

The data to be presented in this paper may help answer these questions. The key finding, from a survey of members of one particular union, is this: Even when individuals say they would like some particular form of increased involvement on the job equally well as some form of purely personal benefit such as additional time off, they are likely to be willing to forego bigger pay increases for the personal benefit than for the increased involvement on the job. If further research finds this same pattern of preference in the workforce at large, it would help explain why unions do not seek job enrichment through collective bargaining, where demands can be won only at a price. The observed pattern also implies that employees will be more enthusiastic about job enrichment if they can somehow share in the benefit of any productivity gains.

The Survey

The data reported here came from a 1974 survey of public union members in a major northeastern city. The sample, from a large and heterogeneous public union, consisted of all union members in four narrow occupational groups: Social Service Supervisors, Nurse's Aides, Accountants, and College Office Assistants (secretaries in a public university system). The survey was carried out,[11] after a year of discussion and pretesting, from May through July 1974. At that time the national unemployment rate was rising, but had reached only 5.3 percent, and employees in this sample were not yet concerned about layoffs.

The union leadership cooperated actively by providing membership lists, helping us* to arrange interviews, reviewing drafts of our questionnaires, and writing cover letters. Though the union was by no means committed to using the survey results, the fact that the leaders actively cooperated meant that respondents could see some possibility, however small, that the survey would influence union policy and therefore their own jobs.

We developed the questionnaire by talking to small groups of the rank and file, who made numerous suggestions for improving their own jobs in concrete, specific ways. The questionnaire began, "How much would you personally like or dislike each of the following specific proposals for changing your job?" In recognition of the fact that in collective bargaining there must be tradeoffs, we presented the same list of proposals

*The first person plural incorporates several individuals whose assistance in planning, executing and analyzing the survey was indispensable to me. These are David Berg, Nancy G. Galuszka, Franklin Lewis, Leslie Petrovics, Ellice Peyton, Charles Whitmore, and Mark Willis.

again later in the questionnaire, asking respondents to indicate how big a pay raise they would require in exchange for doing without each hypothetical change in the job, if they had to make this choice between a raise in pay and a particular change in the job itself.

Desire for More Involvement in the Job

The qualitative ratings of proposed job changes are shown in Tables 1 through 4. In each table the first five columns display the percentage distribution of responses to all the proposed changes, for one occupational group. The next three columns in each table give the percentage distribution of respondents who indicated they would like a proposed change more than, the same as, or less than simply having their working hours reduced by 2 hours a week. This comparison uses the stated desire for having the 2 hour reduction in work week as a baseline for assessing the stated desires for all the other proposed changes. Since some of the proposals represented possibilities that some of the respondents already had, the percentages in the last three columns refer only to respondents who answered the question and who did not indicate that this was something they already had. The number of these respondents may be different for each proposed change, and is shown in the last column of each table.

Tables 1 through 4 show that most people in this sample express no more desire for a 2-hour reduction in their working week than for proposals which would give them more opportunities for learning and for involvement in the job. While more than half of the whole sample do say they would like very much to have their working hours reduced by 2 hours a week, a majority of each occupational group view all of the other changes, with one exception, at least as favorably as having more time off. The single

exception is that most Nurse's Aides dislike the idea of flexible daily work hours (I will return to this later on).

It may seem surprising that respondents do not express greater favor for reduction in hours of work. But this finding is consistent with the responses to another question:

> Suppose that you won a million dollars in a lottery, and on the same day the city announced it could no longer pay your salary. Would you continue to spend any time at your present job as a volunteer?

Between 25 and 30 percent of the Accountants, Social Service Supervisors, and College Office Assistant answered "yes." And among Nurse's Aides, who earn about $8,000 a year, the proportion willing to volunteer was an amazing 77 percent. This raises doubts about the general validity of William Winpisinger's contention that, "If you want to enrich the job, begin to decrease the number of hours a worker has to labor in order to earn a decent standard of living."[12]

On the whole, the most popular proposals were those that would create more opportunities for learning, both on the job and off. Comparison of column six with column eight in Tables 1 through 4 shows whether the number of people rating an idea more favorably than 2 hours off actually exceeds the number rating it less favorably. Among both Accountants and Social Service Supervisors, there were three ideas to which the number responding more favorably than to 2 hours off exceeded the number responding less favorably. These were: reimbursement for the cost of education or counseling whether job-related or not; a half-pay sabbatical after every 10 years; and being allowed to spend 2 hours a week during work time acquiring job-related skills and information. Among Nurse's Aides there were also three changes which attracted more positive than negative votes relative to an extra 2

Table 1: Accountants

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reducti work week, this proposed cha would be: more desirable	same	less desir-able	(numb respo total
1) Being on a committee with other Accountants, program directors at your location, and other administrators-which would meet 2 hours every week during work time to decide how to improve work procedures and conditions where you work.	47%	40%	11%	2%	1%	27%	42%	31%	(16
2) Being allowed to spend up to 2 hours every week during work time acquiring new skills, information, and expertise to help you in your work. You could spend this time reading, gathering information on your own, enrolling in courses, getting together with other Accountants to organize training workshops for yourselves, or in any other way that would be useful to you-provided that you keep your supervisor informed of how you are spending this time.	51	38	7	2	1	26	51	23	(15
3) Being allowed to arrive at work any time between 8 and 11 a.m., and to leave at any time between 4 and 7 p.m.--provided you work the same total number of hours <u>each day</u> as you do now.	50	25	18	8	0	19	53	28	(16
4) Reimbursement of up to $700 a year for the cost of education or counseling services, whether related to the job or not.	59	29	9	3	0	31	46	23	(1
5) Having the opportunity to submit written proposals for demonstrations of new or improved ways to perform accounting functions. A committee of Accountants and administrators would make resources available from a discretionary fund to support the best proposed demonstrations. If you win, you would be in charge of carrying out your own proposal.	35	47	11	2	4	21	45	34	(1
6) Having your working hours reduced by 2 hours a week.	54	31	12	3	1	--	--	--	--
7) Being allowed to come and go from work at any time you choose--provided you work the same total number of hours <u>each week</u> as you do now.	42	18	26	14	1	10	53	37	(1

(continued on next page)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduction in work week, this proposed change would be: more desirable	same	less desirable	(number responding total=164)
ogram rators- time	47%	40%	11%	2%	1%	27%	42%	31%	(160)
tion, uld on r k-	51	38	7	2	1	26	51	23	(159)
your s time.									
n	50	25	18	8	0	19	53	28	(161)
t of ted	59	29	9	3	0	31	46	23	(161)
oals per-	35	47	11	2	4	21	45	34	(155)
urces the									
week.	54	31	12	3	1	--	--	--	----
time umber	42	18	26	14	1	10	53	37	(159)

Table 1: Accountants (continued)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduct work week, this proposed ch would be: more desirable	same	less desir- able	(nu resp tot
8) Being part of a team with your supervisor and co-workers, which would have the authority to decide as a group how the work is done--provided the total output of work is the same as it is now.	43%	38%	8%	2%	9%	18%	55%	27%	(1
9) Being allowed to take a whole year off with half pay after every 10 years--with no effect on sick leave, annual leave, or terminal leave.	60	18	11	9	2	23	59	18	(1

tinued)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduction in work week, this proposed change would be: more desirable	same	less desirable	(number responding total=164)
supervisor and o authority to is done-- rk is the same	43%	38%	8%	2%	9%	18%	55%	27%	(147)
ear off with with no effect terminal leave.	60	18	11	9	2	23	59	18	(157)

Table 2: College Office Assistants (B)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reducti work week, this proposed cha would be: more desirable	same	less desir-able	(numb respo total
1) Being on a committee with other College Office Assistants, faculty, administrators, and students--which would meet for 2 hours every week during work time to decide how to improve procedures and conditions where you work.	43%	33%	20%	1%	3%	12%	43%	45%	(204)
2) Being allowed to spend up to 2 hours every week during work time acquiring new skills, information, and expertise to help you in your work. You could spend this time reading, gathering information on your own, enrolling in courses, getting together with other College Office Assistants to organize training workshops for yourselves, or in any other way that would be useful to you--provided that you keep your supervisor informed of how you are spending this time.	56	29	11	3	2	13	55	32	(206)
3) Being allowed to arrive at work any time between 8 and 11 a.m., and to leave at any time between 4 and 7 p.m.--provided you work the same total number of hours each day as you do now. There would be a procedure for coordinating individual schedules.	45	24	17	12	2	9	44	47	(205)
4) Reimbursement of up to $500 a year for the cost of education or counseling services, whether related to the job or not.	47	31	13	2	7	7	58	35	(195)
5) Having the opportunity to submit written proposals for demonstrations of new or improved ways to perform office functions. A committee of College Office Assistants and administrators would make resources available from a discretionary fund to support the best proposed demonstrations. If you win, you would be in charge of carrying out your own proposal.	36	40	17	3	5	11	39	50	(200)

(continued on next page)

Office Assistants (B)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduction in work week, this proposed change would be: more desirable	same	less desirable	(number responding total=214)
College Office ors, and students-- ry week during work ocedures and	43%	33%	20%	1%	3%	12%	43%	45%	(204)
ours every week kills, information, r work. You could ng information on getting together nts to organize s, or in any o you--provided formed of how	56	29	11	3	2	13	55	32	(206)
any time between ny time between the same total do now. There ating individual	45	24	17	12	2	9	44	47	(205)
ar for the cost ces, whether	47	31	13	2	7	7	58	35	(195)
written new or functions. sistants sources and to trations. e of	36	40	17	3	5	11	39	50	(200)

Table 2: College Office Assistants (continued)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduct work week, this proposed ch would be: more desirable	same	less desir- able	(num resp tota
6) Having your working hours reduced by 2 hours a week.	72%	22%	2%	2%	1%	--	--	--	--
7) Having 5 days every year for thorough orientation and training sessions, which would be planned by a committee of College Office Assistants, administrators, and training consultants.	58	28	9	3	2	15	54	31	(2
8) Being allowed to come and go from work at any time you choose--provided you work the same total number of hours each week as you do now. There would be a procedure for coordinating individual schedules.	40	20	20	10	11	5	52	43	(1
9) Being part of a team with your supervisor and co-workers, which would have the authority to decide as a group how the work is done--provided the total output of work is the same as it is now.	41	29	8	4	18	12	52	36	(1
10) Being allowed to take a whole year off with half pay after every 10 years--with no effect on sick leave, annual leave, or terminal leave.	75	11	3	2	9	16	75	9	(1

istants (continued)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduction in work week, this proposed change would be: more desirable	same	less desirable	(number responding total=214)
d by 2 hours	72%	22%	2%	2%	1%	--	--	--	----
rough orientation ld be planned by istants, admin- nts.	58	28	9	3	2	15	54	31	(206)
work at any time same total number there would be vidual schedules.	40	20	20	10	11	5	52	43	(185)
pervisor and authority to done--provided as it is now.	41	29	8	4	18	12	52	36	(172)
off with half effect on sick leave.	75	11	3	2	9	16	75	9	(189)

Table 3: Nurse's Aides

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduct work week, this proposed ch would be: more desirable	same	less desir-able	(nu resp tota
1) Having 10 or 15 minutes at the beginning of your shift, and another 10 or 15 minutes at the end of your shift, for the Nurse and Aides who are going off duty to tell the Nurses and Aides who are coming on duty about what is happening with the patients on the ward.	42%	14%	1%	1%	42%	28%	59%	13%	(
2) Being on a committee with other Nurse's Aides, doctors, nurses, technicians, and administrators-which would meet for 2 hours every week during work time to decide how to improve procedures and conditions in this hospital.	47	40	2	1	10	21	52	27	(
3) Having the option of working two 4-hour shifts each day, with time off in between to do other things--instead of one continuous 8-hour shift.	3	11	43	40	2	0	17	83	(
4) Having 5 days with pay every year for thorough orientation and training sessions, which would include topics like emergency procedures, taking vital signs, and communication with patients.	61	31	2	1	4	23	62	15	(
5) Having your work time reduced by 2 hours a week with no cut in pay.	56	37	4	3	0	--	--	--	--
6) Payment of up to $400 a year for the cost of any education, training, or counseling services, whether related to the job or not.	53	38	4	2	2	18	66	16	(
7) Being part of a team with your supervisor and co-workers, which would have the authority to decide as a group how the work is done--provided the total output of work is the same as it is now.	42	31	3	3	20	18	54	28	(

(continued on next page)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduction in work week, this proposed change would be: more desirable	same	less desirable	(number responding total=90)
beginning of your utes at the end of Aides who are going d Aides who are pponing with the	42%	14%	1%	1%	42%	28%	59%	13%	(53)
r Nurse's Aides, nd administrators- very week during rove procedures	47	40	2	1	10	21	52	27	(81)
o 4-hour shifts ead to do other us 8-hour shift.	3	11	43	40	2	0	17	83	(88)
ar for thorough ns, which would rocedures, taking wi h patients.	61	31	2	1	4	23	62	15	(86)
y 2 hours a week	56	37	4	3	0	--	--	--	----
r the cost of any ing services, ot.	53	38	4	2	2	18	66	16	(88)
supervisor and o authority to is done--pro- is the same as	42	31	3	3	20	18	54	28	(72)

Table 3: Nurse's Aides (continued)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduction in work week, this proposed change would be: more desirable	same	less desirable	(number responding total=90)
8) Having a contest every year for Nurse's Aides in your hospital, where the Nurse's Aides who write in the best suggestions for improving patient care would win an extra week of paid vacation. The winners would be chosen by a committee of nurses, doctors, and administrators.	50%	34%	12%	3%	0%	20%	47%	33%	(90)
9) Having the option of working different amounts of time in different days--provided you work the same total number of hours each week as you do now.	28	33	26	12	1	7	46	47	(89)
10) Being allowed to take a whole year off with half pay after every 10 years--with no effect on sick leave, annual leave, or terminal leave.	44	30	17	8	1	11	57	32	(89)
11) Giving patients a form when they leave the hospital to write down the name of any Nurse's Aides who have given them extra care. Aides whose names get written down by a lot of patients could get up to 5 extra paid holidays each year. Aides whose names do not get written down by any patients would not get any extra holidays, but no one would lose any time off because of this, and no one's evaluation would be affected.	37	31	18	11	3	15	41	44	(87)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduction in work week, this proposed change would be: more desirable	same	less desirable	(number responding total=90)
a Aides in who write patient care on. The of nurses,	50%	34%	12%	3%	0%	20%	47%	33%	(90)
amounts of ork the same do now.	28	33	26	12	1	7	46	47	(89)
with half et on sick	44	30	17	8	1	11	57	32	(89)
the hospital Aides who ose names could get Aides any days, but of this, cted.	37	31	18	11	3	15	41	44	(87)

Table 4: Social Service Supervisors (I)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduction in work week, this proposed change would be: more desirable	same	less desirable	(number responding total=427)
1) Being on a committee with other Social Service Supervisors, program directors at your location, and other administrators--which would meet for 2 hours every week during work time to decide how to improve procedures and conditions where you work.	46%	35%	11%	3%	5%	29%	41%	30%	(392)
2) Being allowed to spend up to 2 hours every week during work time acquiring new skills, information, and expertise to help you in your work. You could spend this time reading, gathering information on your own, enrolling in courses, getting together with other Social Service Supervisors to organize training workshops for yourselves, or in any other way that would be useful to you--provided you keep your supervisor informed of how you are spending this time.	57	29	7	2	5	32	47	21	(393)
3) Being allowed to arrive at work any time between 8 and 11 a.m., and to leave at any time between 4 and 7 p.m.--provided you work the same total number of hours each day as you do now. There would be a procedure for coordinating individual schedules.	53	24	14	8	1	27	45	28	(410)
4) Reimbursement of up to $700 a year for the cost of education or counseling services, whether related to the job or not.	67	23	6	3	1	32	53	14	(412)
5) Having the opportunity to submit written proposals for demonstrations of new or improved ways to deliver services. A committee of Social Service Supervisors, case workers, and administrators would make resources available for a discretionary fund to support the best proposed demonstrations. If you win, you would be in charge of carrying out your own proposal.	42	42	10	2	4	25	42	33	(401)

(continued on next page)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduction in work week, this proposed change would be: more desirable	same	less desirable	(number responding total=427)
l Service r location, meet for decide ns where	46%	35%	11%	3%	5%	29%	41%	30%	(392)
very week information, . You could formation on g together to organize in any ther ded you keep o spending	57	29	7	2	5	32	47	21	(393)
ne between e between ne total . There individual	53	24	14	8	1	27	45	28	(410)
the cost hether	67	23	6	3	1	32	53	14	(412)
m proposals ays to l Service trators, dicretionary strations. carrying	42	42	10	2	4	25	42	33	(401)

Table 4: Social Service Supervisors (I)
(continued)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduction in work week, this proposed change would be: more desirable	same	less desirable	(number responding total=427)
6) Having your working hours reduced by 2 hours a week.	49%	33%	12%	4%	2%	--	--	--	----
7) Being allowed to come and go from work at any time you choose--provided you work the same total number of hours each week as you do now. There would be a procedure for coordinating individual schedules.	44	19	20	8	8	19	50	31	(384)
8) Being part of a team with your supervisor and co-workers, which would have the authority to decide as a group how the work is done--provided the total output of work is the same as it is now.	39	33	12	3	13	22	49	30	(361)
9) Being allowed to take a whole year off with half pay after every 10 years--with no effect on sick leave, annual leave, or terminal leave.	71	15	5	3	6	34	58	8	(391)

rvisors (I)

	Would like very much	Would like	Would not like	Would Dislike Very much	N.A. or already have it	Compared to a 2-hour reduction in work week, this proposed change would be: more desirable	same	less desirable	(number responding total=427)
hours	49%	33%	12%	4%	2%	--	--	--	----
at any same do now. ating	44	19	20	8	8	19	50	31	(384)
son and rity to --pro- same as	39	33	12	3	13	22	49	30	(361)
with effect al leave.	71	15	5	3	6	34	58	8	(391)

hours off a week. One was payment for the cost of education, training or counseling, whether job-related or not. The other two were: having 10 or 15 minutes at the beginning and end of each shift for briefings on the status of patients; and having five days with pay every year for thorough orientation and training. Among the College Office Assistants, only the half-pay sabbatical idea was rated favorably more often than unfavorably relative to a shorter work week.

Despite the fact that more respondents would prefer extra time off to more involvement in the job through committees, teams, or demonstrating new ideas, those who would prefer more involvement to more time off represented a considerable minority. Usually more than one out of five respondents in each group, and never fewer than one out of ten, said they would like to be on a committee to discuss procedures, or to work in a more autonomous team, or to have a chance to demonstrate new ideas of their own -- more than they would like a 2 hour reduction in the work week.

Apart from the ratings of these particular proposals for increased involvement, many respondents expressed a general desire to help get the work done more efficiently and effectively. A large number of complaints and suggestions came out in response to the following request, which occurred at the end of the list of hypothetical job changes:

> If you have other ideas of your own for improving your job, please feel free to write them here, as well as any comments about what you especially like or dislike about your job.

One College Office Assistant, for example, simply complained, "There is not enough job-related communication on my job. This causes confusion."

A Social Service Supervisor elaborated:

> The most important thing lacking on my job is a coordinated program of upward and downward communications. This lack of "good" communication, upward and downward, results in a large number of frustrations in properly carrying out the chief aims of the Agency.

Another Social Service Supervisor explained how mechanical rules may replace personal involvement:

> Civil servants are not trusted by the administration to be self-motivated, spontaneous, creative or imaginative; policies and procedures are necessary for standardization of implementation and as universal guidelines to guarantee efficient and objective procedure, but agency atmosphere is so bureaucratic that the consequence is regimented, mechanistic, rigid, and inflexible mentality on part of workers.

When workers are not given credit for their initiative and ingenuity, but are given rigid procedures to follow instead, they may feel degraded. As a Social Service Supervisor put it:

> The worst part of the job is that most people's functions tend to revolve around paper work and satisfying various Federal and state requirements. There appears to be little room for ingenuity, imagination, and incentive to do a good job, or helping the individual or community reduce, partially or totally, their dependence on welfare. The job's professionalism has been greatly decreased, especially in the last three years.

Similarly, a College Office Assistant resented "being forced to abide by some <u>really stupid</u> rules, which are made by people with absolutely <u>no</u> knowledge of how an efficient office should be run." The "stupid rules" and lack of opportunity to make a personal contribution undoubtedly drive some highly motivated individuals to quit. A Social Service Supervisor reported:

> I especially dislike the lack of opportunity on this job to have an impact, to feel my work is at all significant. I personally feel that our work has little effect on the system -- if any. Furthermore, there are no other personal rewards available in this job -- no place for personal "input," no recognition for achievement, no

> opportunity to use talents and abilities, no chance of promotion to a meaningful position. My goal is to leave the job as quickly as possible in order to obtain employment in which I can be involved and also feel my work is significant.

A College Office Assistant described how computers can compound the problems and how workers can eventually lose hope:

> I believe that the most frustrating part of working for the City is the "bureaucracy" and the inability to penetrate unending regulations..... All this is compounded by computer operations, which, when operated efficiently produce good results. However, when operated inefficiently produce errors which are costly and rarely rectified -- in fact, they are usually compounded, thereby increased. Further, there is very little room for inventiveness or originality in a "bureaucracy." One tends to "join" it because one cannot "fight" it!

And an Accountant explained how the "civil service attitude" and excessive paperwork can become a vicious circle. She complained about

> [having] to get through the hierarchy of authority to obtain information and to try to correct obvious wrongs which are usually never corrected. The "civil service attitude" of less work for more money and not "sticking your neck out." The incredible amount of paperwork which only serves to bog down the smooth flow and quick transmission of information. The fact that we are constantly working under pressure to prepare external reports with very short notice by agencies that have nothing to do with our agency and the feeling that these reports are worthless.

In addition to such complaints, several respondents offered positive proposals for improving communications. A College Office Assistant suggested using questionnaires:

> There is no communication between the actual workers and the top level adminstrator who issues the orders and directions. If, before these orders and directions are issued, a questionnaire is sent to the various departments involved, we, the actual workers) could suggest many ways of getting the work done more efficiently and in a less time consuming way. The "red tape" involved between the worker and the chain of administrative authority is wrought with frustrations to such an extent as to leave the worker with a completely <u>helpless</u> attitude toward the job.

And a Social Service Supervisor proposed face-to-face meetings:

> Working in a public agency I often find the administration giving "lip service" to the stated aims of the agency. That is, though they profess to have the best interest of clients at heart, they often serve as obstacles to expediting services to clients by becoming overly concerned with bureaucratic minutiae. I also find that there is too much insulation between field units and high administrative types. Working in a child welfare agency, I feel it would be helpful for, say, the director of the agency to have periodic meetings with unit supervisors and caseworkers, or perhaps better, a committee of representatives of these groups. At such meetings each group could confront each other with their expectations of each other.

Several respondents expressed confidence that their suggestions could help get the work done more effectively and efficiently. One College Office Assistant declared,

> I would like to be permitted to run the office more efficiently by being allowed to alter some really unbusinesslike procedures. (purchasing, time reports, etc.). Some of these cumbersome procedures take up a great deal of time and can really be done faster, better and easier.

Another College Office Assistant, in a similar vein:

> I believe that secretaries should be consulted as to certain procedures where they have the experience of dealing with same. Supervisors (teachers, etc.) may try to implement certain procedures, whereas the secretaries know full well such procedures will not work. It has happened and with loss of time, money and energy that could have been well spent.

Finally, two Social Service Supervisors volunteered the following comments:

> [I would like this idea very much] if my reports and suggestions, as well as the reports and suggestions of others, could somehow be implemented or at least be heard or reviewed by powers that be.

> [I would like] to have the opportunity to create work forms (standard paperwork forms) consistent with information actually utilized on the job. As it now is, standard forms do not meet our exact demands for information, or require information not really necessary to do the job well. These forms should be created by people actually doing the work on the client-worker level, not some central office "genius" who thinks he knows what the forms should entail.

This sample of spontaneous comments testifies that some people in these public agencies had ideas for making the organization more effective, and they wanted their ideas to be heard and used.[13] When combined with the findings that a majority of respondents would prefer more opportunities for learning instead of a 2 hour reduction in workweek, and a considerable minority would even reject the extra 2 hours off in favor of opportunities for greater participation, these statements confirm that there is considerable expressed demand here for more involvement in the job..

Relative Unwillingness to Forego Pay Raises for More Involvement

If there is such demand for more involvement in the job, at least among some of the members, then why does the union not make this a regular issue for collective bargaining? In private interviews and public statements, this union's leaders have praised the members' dedication to their work. But the union's Executive Director told us our proposals for more involvement in the job are not viable in the "cold, hard reality" of collective bargaining. The union's bargaining power, he said, must be conserved and focused on bread-and-butter issues.

If demands for more participation and involvement by employees can be won in collective bargaining only by conceding other demands, then would these union members be willing to make such concessions in fact? In particular, would they be willing to forego increases in pay? We tried to answer this question in our survey by presenting our list of proposed job changes a second time, with the following instructions:

> Please consider again the following list of possible changes in your job. As you look at each item on the list, suppose you could have a raise in pay instead of that particular change in the job. How big a raise in your annual salary would it take, to get you to choose the money instead of that change in the job? Please write that amount in the blank space before each item on the list.

> For example, if one change would be worth twice as much to you as another change, you would write twice as much money next to the change you like better.

The amount of money written next to any item may not measure the exact point of indifference between money and that item, because the instructions did not explicitly ask for the minimum pay raise for which a person would forego each change in the job. Nevertheless, if a respondent had indicated, on the first pass through the list, that s/he "would like" one of the proposed changes but "would like very much" another proposed change, then s/he should now write a larger amount of money next to the latter item. Or so we expected. Generally, we expected the rank ordering of the proposed changes by any respondent on the first pass to be very similar if not identical to the rank ordering on the second time through the list.

Pretesting different versions of this question showed it was difficult to get the idea across to some people. The difficulty was greater because the union leadership opposed asking more directly, "How much money would you give up in order to get each of these particular changes?" Even a hypothetical and voluntary reduction in pay could not be formally considered. So the question had to be phrased backward -- in effect requesting respondents to pretend they already had the chance to get each change and asking them how much they would sell it for. Not surprisingly, about one-third of the respondents did not answer this question. Many of these people wrote comments however, which help to explain the responses of those who did answer.

The comments reveal that what prevented some people from answering was that they did not believe they should be asked to forego a pay raise in order to obtain changes that would not cost anything, and might even help get

the work done better. For example, a Social Service Supervisor put asterisks next to the ideas of being on a committee, acquiring new skills, flexible hours, submitting written proposals, and being part of a team with more authority. At the bottom of the page, beside another asterisk, he explained:

> These are to improve departmental efficiency. I don't believe it is a matter of money. The city should do this to improve their situation as much as mine.

Similarly, another Social Service Supervisor noted, next to the proposal for submitting written suggestions:

> This should be an ongoing program of every agency and never related to a pay issue. In effect I am being asked, if I approve of this, to pay for an increase in the effectiveness of my agency. This I refuse.

And a College Office Assistant who had indicated she "would like very much" to have five days of orientation, nevertheless refused to forego any pay for it because, she said, it "should be part of the job."

Some people considered the question downright immoral. They resented being asked to choose between cash for themselves and changes for the common good. A Social Service Supervisor declared:

> I cannot answer these questions. You are asking me to "sell" my principles and destroy my ethics by accepting money rather than achieve improvements for all.

This moral conflict was sharpest for the Nurse's Aides. Their present pay level is the lowest of the four groups in the sample. But they also identify strongly with the patients in their care. About half of the Nurse's Aides consequently refused to consider a choice between a raise in pay and an improvement in the job. Others answered begrudgingly. One complained, "That's like putting money value on a patient's life." Another stressed, "I need money, but I don't want to get it in a way that would benefit me and no one else." To her, the proposition seemed like an attempt to "keep me from complaining by paying me."

A number of other respondents simply refused to sacrifice any job improvement for personal financial benefit. They did not argue that the proposed changes would actually benefit anyone but themselves. However, they seemed to assume that improving the jobs would not cost the taxpayers anything, so it would not be fair to require employees to forego any pay for improvement in the job. For example, one Social Service Supervisor vowed:

> I would not accept any increase in my salary if it is conditioned on sacrificing improvement in work conditions -- I prefer a more rewarding job situation in terms of a change in procedures and policy.

And another simply declared she "would rather have changes than more money." For some respondents, the refusal to make a choice is expressed as a belief that money and job improvement are simply incommensurate. A College Office Assistant asserted: "I don't want to answer these questions, because I don't believe in the theory that money makes up for everything." A Nurse's Aide expressed an absolute preference for job improvement, which would seem unnatural to most economists:

> I think if you can improve your job it's better than the money. I'd prefer the improvement, because you're more on the job than you're at home mostly. And if I am satisfied, it's more pleasant then. I'd rather have the change. I think my job is very important and I'd like to see it improved. The job is a lot to me. It's not just a living. It's also helping other people and I enjoy it. Especially when you're working with sick people, this is how I feel.

These comments reveal that some people who refused to consider a choice between more money and changes in the job did so because they regarded some of the proposed changes in the job as either costless or positively beneficial to the agency.

This explanation for non-response suggested a fruitful way to analyze the responses of the majority who did give answers. We discovered that a respondent who indicates, on the first pass through the list, an equal degree of "liking" for any two proposed changes, tends to be willing to forego a larger amount of money for one of the two changes than for the other if the former change represents a personal benefit and the latter represents a proposal to allow more responsible involvement on the job.

For example, there were 19 Accountants who indicated they "would like" having the opportunity to demonstrate new ideas (item 5 in Table 1), and who also stated they "would like" having their work week reduced by 2 hours (item 6). Another 24 Accountants indicated they "would like very much" both of these proposed changes. Thus a total of 43 Accountants signalled an equal degree of positive "liking" for these two changes. However, when asked how big a pay raise they would be willing to forego in order to obtain each of these changes, 28 attached a larger monetary value to the 2 hour reduction in work time, and only 15 would forego more money for the opportunity to demonstrate new ideas. The probability is less than 5 percent that this difference would occur by chance if the average respondent really attached equal monetary value to the two proposed changes.[14] Therefore, we conclude that these respondents are usually willing to forego more pay in order to have the work week reduced by 2 hours than to have the opportunity to demonstrate new ideas -- even though they "would like" the two changes equally well.

The same comparison, between all pairs of proposed changes, and within all four occupational groups, gave the following results. In this list of results, "A > B" means "among respondents who stated an equal

degree of liking for A and B, a larger monetary value was significantly more likely to be attached to A than to B." Proposed changes are stated here in abbreviated form, with numbers in parentheses referring to the actual descriptions as listed in Tables 1 through 4 (the number and order of items differ between groups). Among the Accountants:

Sabbatical (9) > all other proposed changes except educational reimbursement (4).

Flexible weekly hours (7) > being on a committee to improve procedures (1).

2-hour reduction in work week (6) > opportunity to demonstrate new ideas (5).

2 hours a week to learn new skills (2) > opportunity to demonstrate new ideas (5).

Among College Office Assistants:

Sabbatical (10) > all other proposed changes.

Flexible weekly hours (8) > being on a committee to improve procedures (1), educational reimbursement (4), opportunity to demonstrate new ideas (5), annual orientation week (7), and being part of a more autonomous work team (9).

2 hours a week to learn new skills (2) > opportunity to demonstrate new ideas (5) and annual orientation week (7).

Flexible daily hours (3) > annual orientation week (7).

Being part of a more autonomous work team (9) > annual orientation week (7).

Among the Nurse's Aides:

Sabbatical (10) > 2-hour reduction in work week (5).

Annual orientiation week (4) > being on a committee to improve procedures (2).

Educational reimbursement (6) > 2-hour reduction in work week (5).

Among Social Service Supervisors:

Sabbatical (9) > all other proposed changes.

Flexible weekly hours (7) > all other proposed changes, except sabbatical (9).

Educational reimbursement (4) > 2 hours a week to learn new skills (2), 2-hour reduction in work week (6), being part of a more autonomous work team (8).

Flexible daily hours (3) > being part of a more autonomous work team (8).

Generally, the proposals for which respondents are most likely to forego larger pay raises are the decennial sabbatical leave, flexible work hours, and educational reimbursement. These are primarily personal benefits for individuals. The proposals which would allow more involvement on the job and which might thus benefit the agency -- being on a committee to improve procedures, being part of a work team with more authority to make decisions, and having the opportunity to demonstrate new ideas -- are the least likely to be given larger dollar values.

Three seeming anomalies do occur, but they can be explained. First, College Office Assistants attach little monetary value to the proposal for educational reimbursement. The reason may be that this represents only a marginal extension of benefits to which they are already entitled as employees in a university system. Second, Nurse's Aides and Social Service Supervisors would forego surprisingly little pay for the sake of a 2-hour reduction in the work week. For the Nurse's Aides, numerous comments suggests that this alteration in the sequence of 8-hour shifts (around the clock) would be felt as a further disruption in work schedules that are already hard to predict or control, due to frequent sudden changes. (This also explains the low ratings given to flexible work hours in Table 3.) Among the Social Service Supervisors, the general atmosphere of mistrust, which colors some of the comments reported earlier, may have led some respondents to suspect that a reduction of working hours would somehow entail a reduction in pay if they indicated a willingness to forego money

for it. Third, the Social Service Supervisors' low monetary valuation of 2 hours a week for learning new skills may simply reflect the real incentive provided by their contract, which awards higher pay for formal training in social work, but not for informal learning on the job. Although we must be skeptical of explanation after the fact, these three seeming anomalies thus do not require that we deny the general pattern which emerges plainly: Individuals may "like" proposals which would increase their involvement on the job and hence might improve organizational effectiveness, as much as they would like proposals which provide more personal benefits, but when it comes to trading off against higher pay, they are likely to forego more money for the personal benefits than for more involvement on the job.

Conclusions and Implications

These findings suggest an explanation why unions do not initiate demands for programs like job enrichment which would let the employer make better use of employees' energy and intelligence. This explanation is neither that union leaders lack imagination, nor that they fear more involvement in the job would undermine their members' loyalty to the union.[15] Rather, the explanation would be that union leaders correctly perceive their members' relative unwillingness to forego pay increases in order to get more opportunity for involvement in the job. If winning such opportunities through collective bargaining requires concessions in terms of pay, and if union members in the work force at large have attitudes similar to the sample in this survey, then accurate representation of members' preferences would in general preclude bargaining for job enrichment.

Although there is no guarantee that job enrichment increases labor productivity,[16] it is not uncommon for management consultants to claim that it does.[17] Several of the respondents quoted earlier in this paper assumed or asserted that they could improve productivity if they had a chance to put some of their ideas into practice. And several union spokesmen have expressed their suspicion that job enrichment might be a way to trick workers into being more productive.[18] It might therefore make more sense for unions to approach job enrichment as a kind of technological change which may potentially increase productivity or the personal satisfaction of employees, or both. Programs for getting employees more involved in their work could then be developed within a framework similar to those which have evolved for discussing productivity.[19]

In the public sector a combined approach to job enrichment and productivity may be one way out of a long term dilemma which presently confronts the unions. On the one hand, public employment is the quickest and surest way to absorb the surplus labor that arises from recessions and from continued improvement in labor productivity. On the other hand, many people, for various reasons, perceive public employment as wasteful and unproductive. Thus the so-called public service employment programs -- as in the 1971 Emergency Employment Act, the 1973 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, and even the 1976 Humphrey-Hawkins bill -- which are designed to reduce the overall rate of unemployment, do so mainly by creating short-term jobs instead of long-term productive employment. To escape the dilemma of such self-defeating solutions, unions in the public sector have an interest in making permanent public employment more politically palatable. Ralph Flynn, former executive director of the Coalition of American Public Employees, argues that

> public sector labor must concede that labor organizations do, in fact, have a responsibility for the quality of the services their numbers provide, and they must act accordingly. In this, public sector labor cannot turn to the older, private sector labor unions for instruction.[20]

While recognizing that employees want to share in any productivity gains that may result from their greater involvement in the job, public unions may also have a special interest in enabling such involvement to come about.

FOOTNOTES

1. Description of the sudden deluge of writing was given by Ted Mills, Director of the National Quality of Work Center, in an address to the Public Affairs Council, Washington, D.C., May 24, 1973. Books of the period include: David Jenkins: Job Power, Blue and White Collar Democracy; New York: Doubleday, 1973. Harold Sheppard and Neal Herrick: Where Have All the Robots Gone?; New York: New Press, 1972. Studs Terkel: Working; New York: Random House, 1974. Work in America, report of a special task force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1973. Among the media features was a Newsweek cover story: "Who Wants to Work?"; March 26, 1973.

2. Agis Sapulkas: "Unions: A New Role?"; in Jerome Rosow (ed): The Worker and the Job, Coping with Change; American Assembly, 1974; p. 113.

3. Walter Mossberg: "Factory Boredom: How Vital an Issue?"; Wall Street Journal; March 23, 1973.

4. William Winpisinger: "Job Satisfaction: A Union Response"; AFL-CIO American Federationist; February, 1973; p. 8.

5. Ibid., p. 10.

6. Letter of agreement between George B. Morris, Jr., Vice President of General Motors, and Irving Bluestone, Vice President of UAW; November 19, 1973.

7. Albert Blum, Michael Moore, and Parker Fairey: "The Effect of Motivational Programs on Collective Bargaining"; Personnel Journal, July 1973; P. 636.

8. Ibid., p. 638.

9. George Strauss, Raymond Miles, and Charles Snow: "Implications for Industrial Relations"; in George Strauss, Raymond Miles, Charles Snow, and Arnold Tannenbaum (eds.): Organizational Behavior Research and Issues; Madison Wisc.: Industrial Relations Research Association, 1974; p. 202.

10. Mitchell Fein: "Job Enrichment: A Reevaluation"; Sloan Management Review, Winter 1974; p. 70.

11. The large majority of these four groups are union members. Questionnaires were sent by mail to all Accountants, College Office Assistant (B), and Social Service Supervisors (I) on the union mailing list. The overall response rate from this mailing was 22 percent. To check for non-response bias, we visited several work sites and obtained questionnaires from individuals who had not returned them by mail. Comparison of these "call-back" questionnaires with the "mail-back" sample indicates that the mail-back group over-represents young, white males among the Social Service Supervisors; but there are no consistent differences for Accountants or College Office Assistants. For Nurse's Aides, we administered the questionnaires through personal interviews rather than by mail.

12. William Winspinger, loc. cit., p. 9.

13. The comments reproduced here represent only a small fraction of the total volume. At the end of the questionnaire we asked how long it took: the average was about 20 minutes. Since most of the respondents did this on their own time, the survey brought forth a voluntary donation of roughly 300 person-hours.

14. The total of 43 excludes respondents who "would like" the two changes equally well and who would be willing to forego equal amounts of pay in order to get them. The two-tailed test of significance is based on a normal approximation to the binomial distribution. (See Paul G. Hoel: Introduction to Mathematical Statistics; John Wiley, 1962; third edition, p. 110.) Note that, for the purpose of interpersonal comparison as reported here, the monetary magnitudes are being treated only as ordinal measures.

15. This possibility is implicit in M. Scott Myers: "Overcoming Union Opposition to Job Enrichment"; Harvard Business Review, May-June, 1971.

16. Mitchell Fein, loc. cit. For a still authoritative explanation of the relationships between motivation and performance, see Victor Vroom: Work and Motivation; Wiley, 1964.

17. For example, see: William J. Paul, Jr., Keith B. Robertson, and Frederick Herzberg: "Job Enrichment Pays Off"; Harvard Business Review; March-April, 1969. John R. Maher (ed.): New Perspectives in Job Enrichment; New York: Van Nostrand, 1971. Harold Rush: Job Design for Motivation; New York: The Conference Board, Inc., 1971. Alan Greenblatt: "Maximizing Productivity through Job Enrichment"; Personnel March-April, 1973. W. Philip Kraft and Kathleen L. Williams: "Job Redesign Improves Productivity"; Personnel Journal, July, 1975.

18. William Winpisinger, loc. cit. Irving Bluestone: "Decision Making by Workers"; The Personnel Administrator, July-August, 1974. Rudolph Oswald: "Bargaining and Productivity in the Public Sector: A Union View"; in Gerald Somers and others (eds.): Collective Bargaining and Productivity; Madison, Wisc.: Industrial Relations Research Association, 1975.

19. "Improving Productivity: Labor and Management Approaches"; Bulletin 1715 (prepared for the National Commission and Productivity), U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics; September, 1971.

20. Ralph J. Flynn: Public Work, Public Workers; Washington: New Republic Books Company, 1975; p. 104.